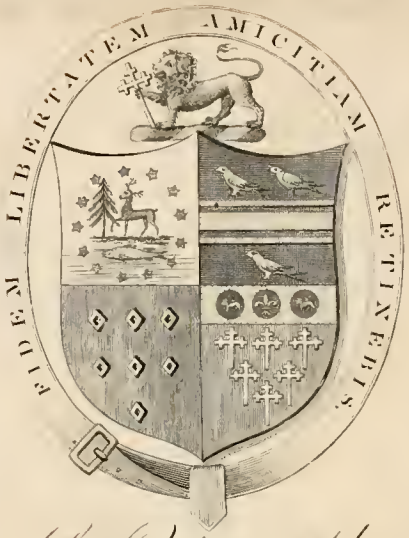

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THE HISTORY OF ATHENS.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ATHENS

POLITICALLY AND PHILOSOPHICALLY CONSIDERED,

WITH THE VIEW TO AN INVESTIGATION

OF THE

Immediate Cauſes of ELEVATION, and of DECLINE,

OPERATIVE IN A FREE AND COMMERCIAL STATE.

By WILLIAM YOUNG, Eſq.

Θεώρει τὰ γιγνομένα καὶ τὰ συμπίπτοντα καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις, ἐὰν γὰρ τὰ παρεληλυθότα μνημονεύῃς ἄμεινον καὶ περὶ των μελλόντων βουλεύσῃ.

Iſocrat. Orat.—ad Nicoclem.

LONDON:

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M.DCC.LXXXVI.

Adanna
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PREFACE.

MULTUM legendum eſſe non multa, is an adage of antiquity, replete with a deepand excellent ſenſe; it means that much reading implies not much knowledge; and that ſtudy leadeth not neceſſarily to wiſdom:—It teaches that to profit from our application, whilſt we read one book, we ſhould in thought frame another; and inſtead of being *Librorum Helluones*, afford the mind exerciſe and time wherewith to digeſt a moderate and wholeſome fare: —It inculcates, that to peruſe the works of many authors, may to the language of pedantry gain the title of learning; but that attentively to penetrate the ſenſe of a few, is the way to ſcience.

All men however, have not equal acuteneſs to develope, equal aſſiduity to purſue, or equal memory to retain, the ſubject-matter of a book: ſays Montaigne,—" I have read an hundred things in Titns " Livius, that have eſcaped the obſervations of " others, and Plutarch has read an hundred more

" there, beſides what I was able to diſcover :"— So far I agree with this ſenſible writer ; but when he adds,—" and more perhaps than Livy ever in- " ſerted in his book,"—either I do not underſtand, or I muſt reject, or I muſt refine upon the ſenſe of the text; for though an antiquary or chronologiſt may take advantage of ſome word, conſtruction, or circumſtance, artfully or fancifully to aſſume the authenticity of an epoch, or of a relique, in favour to his own prejudices, or to ſome ſyſtem, or to ſome authority to which he is partial ; yet to him who reads hiſtory, not as the hiſtory of dates and pagods, but of men,—it hath recondite in it, all the leſſons of ethics and policy, which he can make himſelf maſter of from the peruſal. Every annaliſt muſt be under the predicament of teaching more than himſelf knows, to thoſe who come after him ; and who of courſe connecting *his* particular link of the chain as well with a *ſucceeding* as with a foregoing ſeries, may juſtly and logically deduce, what the author could never have ſurmiſed to have been deducible from his work : a ruſtic makes a lever to raiſe, another employs it to aſcertain the weight; nor is this uſe the leſs inherent in the inſtrument, whatever in ſuch reſpect may have been the ignorance of its firſt artificer. So far I premiſe, in order to obviate the objections,

objections, which I foreſee may be made to the following treatiſe, as too fancifully inveſtigating its ſubject; and as extracting often from the text of hiſtory, documents of philoſophy and politics,—when no ſuch deductions ſhould be made, and no ſuch leſſons (to uſe a word of Montaigne's Tranſlator) were ever *inſerted* in my originals.

Ariſtotle in his ninth chapter of Poetics, diſcriminating hiſtory and poetry, conſiders not the diſtinction as ariſing from the meaſure and harmony of verſe: "the hiſtories of Herodotus (ſays he) though "delivered in metre, would not conſtitute a poem; "hiſtory teaches what has been,—poetry what may "be; wherefore poetry is of a more philoſophical "and didactic ſpirit than hiſtory:"—this opinion of Ariſtotle, that the epic muſe was a better and more comprehenſive teacher than the hiſtoric, I cannot readily adopt;—I cannot but imagine that this deep thinking philoſopher has in one inſtance decided too haſtily, or too lightly. That the poet might in an Æneas combine the mental excellencies of many, as well as the painter delineate the various beauties of many in one piece of art,—I can well conceive; and that hiſtory, when it portraited an individual, was confined to a narrower ground than the canvas ſpread to the laviſh hand of fancy, I freely allow;—but

hiſtory

hiſtory ſurely conſiſts not in the detail of any one man's life and actions; it is perverted when employed in the ſervice of Cæſar, and not of Rome. National characteriſtic, as much, or more than private character, ſhould be clearly deducible from this kind of work; and if treated with ſuch view, (and with ſuch view it ſhould be treated) hiſtory may teem with as much philoſophic theory as poetry: in the annals of an united people, we find matter for general poſitions, and the particular examples interſperſed aſſiſt us in the analyſis or compoſition of our ſyſtem;—they form a ſet of rudiments to the *συνθέσις* which poetry can never have ſo complete; for many a pregnant circumſtance may be exploded, as not being coincident with the rules of the art,—" *primo* " *aſpectu levia* (ſays Tacitus) *ſed ex queis magnarum* " *ſæpe rerum motus oriuntur:*"—Poetry indeed, as obſerves the Stagyrite, tells us, " *what may be*;"—but as a tutoreſs of morals and of wiſdom, ſhe can only tell, " *what may be*," by collecting, combining, and modifying " *what has been*;"—and this, as the following eſſay may ſerve to elucidate, is equally the province of hiſtory. Poetry may perhaps ſhow the ſcene to a dim eye, in larger quarries, and in ſtronger colours;—to gain this advantage likewiſe over to hiſtory, and to paint a forcible and expreſſive picture of

my

my ſubject,—I have changed the attitudes of ſome figures, I have tranſpoſed others, and have approximated them to a ſtronger contraſt, or to a more glaring light. Some few Anachroniſms are the reſult of this free mode of treating hiſtory;—I truſt they are but few, and that they do not in any degree vitiate the deſign of this work, either as to accuracy of facts or propriety of deduction.

The deſign of the following treatiſe, is from the annals of men and things, to extract the ſpirit of character and event,—with the narrative to interweave the moral, and thus in the hiſtory enfolding its comment, to render each political leſſon explicit and applicable.

The choice of ſubject-matter hath been ſuggeſted by the analogy it affords in various points of view to one moſt intereſting to a Britiſh reader.—The ſtruggles and intrigues of parties, and of popular leaders; —the alternate wiſdom, and caprice of the people; —their ardent love of liberty, and high pretenſions to command occaſionally drooping in ſubſerviency,— and then again rouſing from torpid acquieſcence, to new jealouſies, new claims, and to the moſt vigilant and active exertion of rights and of powers;—the temporary vigour of a patriot adminiſtration, and the ſucceſſive debility of government from fluctuation of

councils;—the tendencies of the ſtate to acceſſion of empire, and the obſtacles to a continuance of foreign influence, and of diſtant dominion;—the haſty increaſe of wealth and of marine power from ſources of trade, and thereon trade introducing a ſpirit of diſſipation and ſelf-intereſt to diſſolve the very ſtrength and proſperity it gave birth to;—*theſe*, and many other circumſtances attendant on, or complicated with, the political career of a free government and maritime country, are no where more forcibly exemplified, than in *the Hiſtory of the Republic of Athens.*

The excellent comment of Machiavel on the firſt Decad of Livy, ſeems to have been particularly ſuited to the inſtructing thoſe of the age and country in which he lived,—diſturbed by petty wars, by inteſtine factions, and by conteſts for liberty and power. The treatiſe of Monteſquieu "On the greatneſs and "decline of the Roman Empire," was founded on a ſubject, which might have ſupplied a forcible leſſon, to the kingdom, and at the time, in which he wrote. That great author, in another work, remarking a paſſage of Xenophon relative to the naval power of the Athenians, ſays, * "*One would imagine almoſt, that Xenophon was*

* Ἑνος δέ ἐνδέεις εἰσιν, ἐι γὰρ νῆσον οἰκεῦντες θαλασσοκράτορες ἦσαν· Xenoph. Pol. Ath. Cap. 2. "Vous diriez que Xenophon à voulu parler de l'Angleterre." L'Eſprit des Loix, Liv. 21. Ch. 7.

" *ſpeaking in alluſion to England:*"—I ſeem therefore but to purſue the idea of Monteſquieu, when further adverting to the hiſtory of the great Grecian Republic, I venture to aſſume, that—" its arts, its ſciences, " its liberty, its commerce, its colonies, and its em- " pire of the ſeas, render the ſubject—*peculiarly* " *our own.*"

Under theſe impreſſions, I reſume grounds of political ſpeculation, which in a more confined, or rather in another, point of view, engaged my attention very early in life;—and I confeſs am the more particularly induced to the preſent undertaking from a wiſh to obliterate what was erroneous, as well as to ſupply what was deficient in a former publication, by ſubſtituting a work, the reſult of a more conſiderate and mature enquiry.

To this effect, I have employed much time and thought in the endeavouring to render the following hiſtorical treatiſe deſerving of the public notice and approbation: whether my leiſure hath been well or ill employed, will in a great meaſure depend on the judgment of others;—but every author whoſe " *love* " *of letters*" tranſcends his vanity, or deſire of literary reputation, hath an advantage beyond the reach of public opinion:—as the ſources of conſolation and

amuſement which at once ſmooth, and enliven his retired path of life,—his ſtudies are his own; and if his ſtudies are of a moral bent and purpoſe,—the conſequent inſtruction and ſelf-improvement too are his own. In the publiſhing the reſult of his enquiries and ſpeculations, he expoſes himſelf indeed to criticiſm, and ſeems to place the eſtimation of his knowledge, and good ſenſe at an unneceſſary hazard:—but, on the other hand, his lucubrations have thereby a direct ſcope and object, which excite new ſpirit in each purſuit, and give it an intereſt and importance obviating the laſſitude and diſguſt, which attend ſedentary employments that have no fixed deſtination, —no deſign,—no views, beyond the ſingle hour, they indolently engage.

Having ſtated ſuch inducement to publication, I venture not to urge a further plea, of regard to public utility, and to public amuſement: of pretenſions to ſuch motives, as well as of the means employed, and of the accompliſhment attained, a literary judgment will be founded on other premiſes, than the mere aſſertions of a writer, however plauſible or earneſt:—before the tribunal of public opinion, it becomes not an author to plead for his book,—*but his book for itſelf.*

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THE

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS, &c. &c.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTORY, ON ANCIENT HISTORY.

THE wildeſt narratives of remote antiquity, however little to be depended on for veracity, are not wholly to be regarded as the ſports of roving fantaſtic genius; or as uſeful, merely in the light of fables, bearing a deep and beautiful moral; they are ſtill more ſtriking as types of the ſpirit and purſuits of the age they relate to. The mind of man untutored in philoſophical truths, recurs naturally to the marvellous; blind to the inherent wonders of every, the minuteſt part of the creation, he himſelf imagines new miracles for the deity of his ſoul; each god, each demi-god, each hero is thus aggrandized by the fertile enthuſiaſm of his adherents, who unwilling to allow the confeſſed ſuperiority to a Being no way eſſentially differing from themſelves, inveſt him with ſuch powers, and attribute to him ſuch actions, as their

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wanton zeal may ſuggeſt, or wild credulity patronize.—Still, however, the virtues held up to admiration, are the virtues of the age that admires; the prejudices and purſuits of the fabuliſt enter into [1] the delineation of the creature of his fancy, however perfect he may deſign him; and, as the poet, or other writer, is a member of, and writes but for his community, we may pronounce that his embelliſhments, though but an airy ſuperſtructure, are yet raiſed on a known and good foundation, and that his recital is at leaſt conſonant to the amuſement and taſte of his cotemporaries.

THUS the memoirs of chivalry, or ſtories of more ancient heroiſm, inform, as well as delight; the age of gallant knighthood is perhaps better underſtood from the poetical effuſions of the Troubadours, than from the accurate hiſtory of Mezeray; Woden and his ſucceſſors are better known from a runic ſong, than from a monkiſh hiſtorian; and in the tales of Hercules and the Argonauts, the ſpirit of thoſe remote times is better traced, than it could be in the dry narrative of facts. We thus get acquainted with the prior ages through fables, as with ſucceeding ages from records; nor is the ſtudy thereof to be ſlighted, as long as the improveability of man is thought worthy to hold a place in his ſpeculations; and the progreſs and various ſteps and changes of the human mind, are deemed proper objects of its enquiry. In ſuch philoſophical purſuit, the reading of fabulous hiſtory has its peculiar uſe, but further is not to be expected from it; the infancy of human nature can no more ſerve as example to man in an improved ſtate, than the caprices of a child to one in years, in whoſe deepeſt thoughts and ſtudies they may yet profitably find a place.

Locke's Eſſay on Human Underſtanding. Emile de Rouſſeau, tom. 1, &c. &c.

BY many, and indeed by moſt, of the learned, it has been conſidered as difficult, to draw the line in ancient hiſtory between the

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the fabulous and the authentic; but here the word *fabulous* bears not its ordinary and derivative ſenſe, and the oppoſition of terms may be ſimply conſtrued into *true* and *falſe*: the ten firſt books of Livy have been ſtigmatized with the term *fabulous*,—meaning ſolely, that the facts therein repreſented, are ſingular, doubtful, and, in many caſes, ſtated as ſuch by the very author; but yet are they not to be claſſed with the tales of poetry; their leſſon is deep, and they bear a ſtrong and pointed character; whether after the life or not, the picture hath a phyſiognomy moſt intereſting, and ſo well elucidated by the maſterly touches of the painter, that equal inſtruction and pleaſure reſult from the peruſal.—Let the antiquary bring his medals, or the book-learned his books, to the controverſy; the pedant would cleanſe the root, and filth is his portion; whilſt the Florentine bee, pitched on the lively flower, is diſtilling the ſweeteſt honey from each petal.

Diſcorſi ſul' primo decade di Tito Livio.

LITTLE doth it matter, I think, where the record is of ſo old a date, and affects not any right or property, and gives no authority to any ſyſtem, and brings no weight of favour or of oppoſition to the opinions *of the day*; little doth it matter, whether the hiſtory is correctly authentic, ſo long as it bears the characteriſtics of truth and of nature: the Venus of Zeuxis ſurely might be pronounced equally eſtimable, whether the ſtory of the five beauties of Agrigentum was true or falſe.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 35. Cap. 9.

LORD BOLINGBROKE looking over the general proſpect of hiſtory, ancient and modern, and conſidering its tendency merely as to diffuſing the knowledge of men and manners, ſays, "He "would chearfully exchange the books of Livy we have for "thoſe we have not;" he enumerates the advantages Livy had in his latter books, of delineating characters of men whom he knew, and thoſe too of the greateſt; of deſcribing events he

Bolingbroke's Eſſay on Hiſt. Lett. 5.

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was concerned in, facts he had from the immediate actors,—*quæque ipſe miſerrima vidit.*

But ſurely a cotemporary hiſtorian of ſuch turbulent times might be too apt to exaggerate through adulation, or to conceal through fear; to inſtil the precepts, not of the philoſopher, but partizan; and colour facts into harmony with his own ſyſtem of patriotiſm or friendſhip. Cæcina, in his letter to Cicero ſays *, "Much [2] have I been neceſſitated to refrain, "many things I have been obliged to paſs over lightly, many "to curtail, and very many abſolutely to omit; thus cir- "cumſcribed, reſtricted, and broken as it is, what pleaſure "or what uſeful information can be expected from the re- "cital?"

Epiſt. fam. L. 6. Ep. 7.

So wrote the hiſtorian Cæcina, and ſo probably did Livy write; whatever tribute of praiſe he might pay to the Tyrannicides, whether he merited his title of "*Pompeianus*," or whether his genius might be comprized with *thoſe*, whom Tacitus

Tac. Hiſt. 1.

mentions "as [3] ſo candidly, as well as ably deſcribing the "times of Auguſtus, *till adulation crept in, and wore down and "ſmoothed away their force and ſpirit*;" whether a republican zealot, or a time-ſerving hiſtoriographer, he were equally to be

Tac. Annal. 4. §. 34.

diſtruſted; Cremutius Cordus, who was proſecuted for calling Caſſius the laſt of the Romans, was perhaps a writer more dangerous to truth than the poet Lucan, when, thanking the gods

* I have thought proper to inſert a tranſlation rather than the original of ſuch paſſages of ancient authors, as it ſuited my purpoſe to introduce into the body of this work, unleſs when the force of expreſſion *merely* hath led me to adopt the quotation: for the ſatisfaction of the learned, I have cited each original paſſage in the appendix of notes, premiſing, that in point of expreſſion it hath been my object to retain rather the ſpirit than the letter of the originals, in all caſes, when the idiom of our language did not readily ſupply me with both.

for

for the bounteous preſent to the Roman Empire of a Nero, he ſays,

" —— *ſcelera ipſa nefaſque*
" *Hâc mercede placent.*"

Lucan. Pharſ. 1.

THE fulſome ſtile of praiſe readily diſguſts the reader, but the rancorous poignancy of malevolence occaſions no ſuch averſion; for, as Tacitus emphatically explains it, " [4] Flattery " bears the mien of ſervitude, but malignity deceives in the " ſpecious ſhape of freedom."—But I recur from ſuppoſition to fact: Julius Capitolinus declares that Herodian, cotemporary with Alexander Severus, was partial to the hiſtory of the brutal Maximin, who murdered him, from private enmity to Severus; and Lucian tells us, that Cteſias invented tales for his Perſian hiſtory, to flatter the taſte of Artaxerxes, whoſe phyſician he was, as well as hiſtoriographer. Such are cotemporary hiſtorians, ſuch their hiſtories!

Jul. Capitolin. in Vit. Maximin.

Lucian. Quæſt. Hiſt.

As to the queſtion which the opinion of Bolingbroke has ſuggeſted, even theſe conſiderations apart, have we not ſufficient pages blotted with the follies and vices of great men? Have we no annals to refer to for the conſequences of luxury, the progreſs of venality and corruption, and liberty undermined? or are we yet to learn, that one and the ſame is the downfall of virtue and of freedom; and that with equal pace individuals become vicious, and a community enſlaved? Writings enough exiſt, tracing the progreſſive depravity and ſervitude of great nations, loſt to every ſenſe of thoſe virtues, and of that free ſpirit, which had made them great. The period of antiquity, characteriſed by a wild and impetuous generoſity, by an enthuſiaſtic patriotiſm, and daring love of freedom—that age wherein the virtues were indebted to the paſſions for more, than, ever ſince, the boaſted aid of reaſon could afford them, has been delineated

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neated but by few great maſters, and for the honour of humanity not a line thereof ſhould be effaced; I would not barter one page of the early accounts of the republics of Athens or of Rome, for the moſt accurate acquaintance with all that Auguſtus ever did, or thought.

SURELY in every mind there is an emulation of virtuous ſuperiority, which, however for a time fortune or the meaner paſſions may hebetate its powers, ſtill, at every example of ſucceſs in the particular objects of its predilection, glows into a momentary [5] flame, which from frequent reſuſcitation may acquire an energy ſufficient to puſh it to the attainment of that, which was at firſt regarded ſolely as matter of admiration: the idea of imitation, which has thus enraptured the fancy, may in times of perilous criſis ſomewhat elevate the mind, and influence the conduct; and if ſuch effect may proceed from ſtudying the examples of ancient patriotiſm and virtue, what other lecture can balance the utility of that, which thus animates the man, and urges him to noble and diſintereſted ſervices in a good, great, and public cauſe?

THE hiſtory of intellect may be typified by the Ægyptian Nile, which long pours on, and hurries all away in one collected channel; as it advances it divides into various branches, and at length breaks in many and widely diſtant ſtreams towards the great gulph; into which, according to their reſpective force, they for a time continue their way, till finally all are loſt and confuſed in the abyſs. In the age of golden ſimplicity and ignorance, the objects and purſuits of mankind were but little varied; their thoughts were directed to their common neceſſities; their paſſions moſtly concentered in ſome common local prejudice or predilection; and whether ſhepherds or hunters, they purſued

together one ſimple courſe, wherein the natural affections, and a ſenſe of ſelf-ſuſtenance, and of ſelf-preſervation, united, directed, and urged them on.

As the genius became elevated, and the judgment tutored by ſucceſſive experience, and by the influence of general acquiſitions of arts and of knowledge, the human mind proved its ſureſt diſtinction from inſtinct, by the *varieties* of its tendency, its force, and its concluſions, in its progreſs to the ſuperior objects of reaſon, the great truths natural, moral, and political:—at length refined, and puſhed to the extremity, each reſearch cloſes in error and in darkneſs.

In this hiſtory of intellect and manners, there ſeems to have been an epoch, when mankind had a character happily combining the uniform and the various; viewing that period of antiquity, we ſeem to deſcry a landſcape of a bold and maſſive taſte of compoſition, contraſted with ſtrong light and ſhade, and of a brilliant touch of colour, yet the whole ſimple and harmonious; whilſt in the modern age we behold a ſcene flittered into a multiplicity of luminous ſpots, and gaudy without effect; perhaps it is too near the eye; perhaps it may be ſaid, that the favourite ſcene of ancient hiſtory merely appears the more beautiful, as a picture mellowed by age, as a rude but diſtant proſpect harmonized by the intervening medium, and loſing all its abrupt breaks and deformities in the diſtance; whilſt modern hiſtory, as it were, a foreground, appears ſpotted with weeds and reptiles, which belong equally to the further ſcene, but are *there* leſs conſpicuous to the eye: yet ſurely in the old times I allude to, there was ſomething eſſentially diſtinguiſhing the characters of mankind, and abſolutely giving them a form and complexion differing from thoſe of to-day!

MEN,

CHAP. I.

MEN, when firſt called from the mere ſociety of family and propinquity to more extenſive duties, and a new ſort of combination, were fond of the novelty, and the compact was regarded with a peculiar and almoſt ſuperſtitious veneration: *then* individuals formed a community; *now*, more properly it may be ſaid, that a community conſiſts of individuals: *then* the intereſt of the whole was deemed that of each; *now* the inverſe is adopted, and each would operate on the whole: the genius of patriotiſm, which animated every breaſt, no longer exiſts; nay, the very inſtances of its exiſtence are queſtioned; we wonder at paſt tranſactions and ancient ſtories; we doubt that the Greek Codrus, or Roman Decii devoted themſelves; and that the elder Brutus ſhould ſacrifice the deareſt ties of nature, to a ſentiment we ſo little know the force of, now ſeems ſingular, if not impoſſible: yet Galileo cried "*et tamen movet*," and would have died for a mere ſyſtem, and millions of religious zealots have daringly periſhed in defence of opinions, themſelves underſtood not; and ſhall we pay ſo little reſpect to our nature, to ourſelves, as to ſuppoſe men capable of ſuch efforts in favour of vanity or of ignorance, and not equally brave in ſupport of the liberal and benevolent ſentiments, the ſocial and ſpirited principles, on which thoſe famed eſtabliſhments were ſecured, their united labours had formed, their reaſon approved, and their habits and their happineſs required?

To diſplay and to enforce ſuch *ſocial and ſpirited principles*, and, ſearching out the finer ſprings which originate theſe emotions of the mind, to account for, and thus to further authenticate the inſtances which hiſtory lays before us, will conſtitute in part the ſubject of the firſt chapters of this work: nor is the ſubject uſeleſs or unintereſting; if in theſe times of diſſipation, and of perverſion or diſregard of all that belongs to public or to private virtue,—if in this age of profligate manners and of licentious

licentious policy, any example, or any leſſons of morals and of patriotiſm, may excite attention, and may even have an effect, which ambition or vanity, in default of purer motives, ſhall give an opening to. Such ſeems the beſt uſe to which the earlier hiſtory of Athens can be applied. As the republic becomes powerful, and as the people become enlightened, as the conſtitution of government becomes firſt perfect and then corrupt, and as the arts of government become complicate and refined, the hiſtory [6] will in its due courſe furniſh maxims of policy, and leſſons of ſtate: ſuch as I have preſumed more explicitly to ſuggeſt, are few in compariſon of thoſe which the ſubject may afford to a learned and enlightened reader; I have merely awakened his attention to this, or to that point of view; thrown out, as it were, looſe hints of ſpeculation; and thinking only ſo much for him, as to induce him to think further for himſelf, offered the text of this book as a theſis for the more abſtruſe workings of his own mind.

CHAP. I.

Book II.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II [7].

OF THE POPULATION OF ATTICA——OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

Ariſtot. Pol. L. 7. C. 7. Xenoph. περὶ πόρων. Thucyd. L. 1.

GREECE [8] was ſituated under a benign latitude, and whilſt its inhabitants were but few, its ſpontaneous fertility eaſily ſatisfied its paſtoral poſſeſſors, who with their herds roved peaceably from ſpot to ſpot, as its beauties or conveniences invited; and left it as ſatiety or its harraſſed ſoil ſuggeſted the ſeeking a new and more fertile ſituation.

UNDER ſuch circumſtances of peace and ſecured felicity, no wonder that population encreaſed; and the bands of propinquity then from their too great extent being rent and broken, the detached parties became more in number, and the face of the country gradually was covered with a diverſity of people, who retained but little ſenſe of common family, and much of private intereſt.

Ibid. Diod. Sic. L. 2.

THE wandering herd now often found the richeſt paſturage pre-occupied, and a ſyſtem of ſuch appropriation being little underſtood by ſavages, who heretofore deemed the earth, as heavens, common to all; a claim to participate, brought on contention, and the victorious took poſſeſſion of the lands, till ſuch time as other intruders, with better pretenſions of ſtrength, expelled the firſt conquerors, and ſucceeded to an equally hoſtile and precarious ſettlement.

THE tribes broken, ſeparated, and deſpoiled of their flocks, fled to the mountains, till emboldened by hunger, and urged by

revenge, they ventured from their lurking-places in ſmall but deſperate bands, to procure a ſuſtenance, and ſatiate their rage by depredation on their former invaders. The ſhepherds ſoon learnt to dread, and to defend themſelves againſt, theſe new enemies: ſmall bodies ſtrengthened themſelves by coalition, and all parties ſeemed ſtudious of the means to repel or to annoy an enemy: arms were in every hand; habit inured to danger; and the glory of conqueſt too began to enforce its plea.

THE moſt verdant mead, the moſt flouriſhing grove, the ſweeteſt ſpring, ſucceſſively bleſt the ſtrongeſt; and all the goods man could then know, depended on his courage to attempt, or proweſs to maintain them. The richeſt plains of Greece thus became ſcenes of continual war; and all the evils which the untutored barbarity of ſavages ordinarily annexes to conqueſt, conjoined to make the weaker entirely forego that bounty of nature, they could enjoy for ſo little a time, and with ſo much danger; other fields were they to ſeek, the poverty of which might enſure them from deſolation, and rude and rocky ſurface yet afford a cave hoſpitable to the wretched; a poſſeſſion unmoleſted as unenvied by their more potent neighbours. Thucyd. L. 1.

ATTICA, a large tract of country, barren, and with few of thoſe natural advantages which were, and might again be, the ſubjects of contention, ſeemed a proper place of ſettlement for theſe wanderers. Thus as Rome owed its population to crimes, ſo did Athens to miſery; and by a ſingular fatality, the two moſt virtuous and moſt powerful republics of the ancient world, were founded by the wicked and by the weak. Ibid. Strab. L. 8.

No longer could the people ſubſiſt from the ſpontaneous bounties of the earth; nature was to be courted for ſuſtenance;

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the golden age of indolence was paſt, and man was to live but from the ſweat of his brow. Every one ſubſiſting from toil, induſtry ſoon put in a new and an allowed claim to property; he that had ſown the grain, reaped the harveſt; and preſcription gradually cemented this corner-ſtone of political inſtitution. If it was not a ſettled ſtate, it was a fraternity ſtrengthened by regulation; and its union and progreſſive arts gave this new people a deciſive ſuperiority over the brutal ſtrength of any, who might dare to attack them in their place of retreat, and ravage the fields endeared by their labours.

As ſelf-love is the parent of ſocial, ſo are private affections of public; attachment, as it were, from our little home in the center, irradiates to the very periphery, and touches each point of the great circle of the commonwealth: herein behold the groundwork of patriotiſm! Faſtened as men were, by the habits of peace and competence, to the ſame grounds when old, which their infancy had ſported in, reciprocal obligation had time to take root, and the fruits were a grateful and diffuſive benevolence; the intereſt, not of families only, but of men, ſeemed united, and whoever ſhould attempt to ſever thoſe bands, was by all conſidered as having no claim to that ſociety he inſulted: peace was to all, but to him who invaded it.

It is in the barren ſoil that genius and induſtry take the earlieſt root; the ſterility of nature proves a ſpur to art, and invention is awakened by the clamours of neceſſity: ſoon the human mind is indebted to its activity for ſtill further force, and purſuing the paths which want or appetite point to, is captivated with the proſpects opening on either ſide, and at length boldly deviates into the wilds of knowledge and pleaſure.

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THUS our community quickly outſtripped its once more happy and formidable neighbours, in the career of enjoyments, and of power; whilſt eaſe and plenty were ſucceſſively the reſult [9] of induſtrious arts, and mental improvements and ſocial combination were more than a match for robuſt but divided ſavages. Iſocrat Paneg.

THE rough diamonds from the mine but little vary; it is when poliſhed that we diſtinguiſh the beauties or dullneſs of the water, the flaw, or pure, or tinted brilliant; ſo civilization diſcovers the ſuſceptibility and value of each mind, and in the infancy of policy, where no preſcription hath ſway, inequality of intellect effects a correſpondent degree of command and ſubſerviency. Plat. Pol. L. 9.

ARISTOTLE [10] has ſet out in his Theory of Politics, with much ſtudy and pains, and much ſpeculation on, and many reaſonings for, this hypotheſis; but ſurely every ox that draws the plough is ſufficient juſtification of the theory: from man to man ſtill greater is the ſubjection, whilſt admiration locks, or gratitude gilds, the chains himſelf from conſcious inferiority hath impoſed. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 1. Cap. 29.

MARK the picture of ſociety which now preſents itſelf to view:—Genius working not on luxuries or refinements, but confined to an inveſtigation of the common arts and neceſſaries of life; and weakneſs courting it for a participation of its comforts, and paying the debt of gratitude, or earneſt of expectancy, with menial ſervice and aſſiſtance. Lucret. L. 5. V. 1090, & ſeq.

IN an earlier period, the cave was a refuge common to all, the acorn was to be plucked by every hand, and in the calm of general ignorance, ſpirit or activity for the courſe lay dormant, and their claims were not known, not underſtood, or not allowed:

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lowed: but now the man of reaſon culled new bleſſings from the earth, and where nature ſeemed deficient, found reſources of happineſs and eaſe in his own inventive faculties; nor is it wonderful, that thoſe whoſe powers were inadequate to their wants, ſhould purchaſe ſhelter in his hut, warmth from his fire, or ſuſtenance from his roots, with obſequious attention to ſerve and venerate the benefactor.

Diod. Sic. L. 1.

WITH deference to ſome over-learned men, who have made of late ſo many important and accurate deductions from mythology [11], we will venture to ſuppoſe, that *whoever* firſt planted a twig, or ſowed a grain, or ſtruck fire from a flint, thenceforward became a character divine, and that *every ſpot* had its race of deities, its Ceres, its Bacchus, and its Vulcan.

Apuleius de Deo Socrat.

THE advantages accruing from the union of the wiſe and ſtrong, were too obvious, to ceaſe with the firſt projector; his name was reverenced and invoked by his adherents, and his temporal power and rule were delegated to the man, whom ſuperior acuteneſs diſtinguiſhed, or preſumption [12] introduced; in the firſt inſtant of demiſe, thoſe ſpeciouſly advancing in the ſpirit of enterpriſe, were admitted to a competition with the wiſe and the expert; but as in thoſe times the only title to rule was the conferring of benefits, of which every ſubject was individually to partake, and capable too of ſtriking the balance between ſervices paid, and good received; theſe intruders were ſpeedily diſgraced, and perhaps in the ſhock of public commotion, were detached from the general body, and with a few others whom ſympathy or reſentment connected with them, were left to rely on that ſtrength which paſſion and ſelf-confidence rendered at once unfit for rule, and impatient of ſubjection.

Diod. Sic. L. 1.

THEY

They retired to their old manſions of refuge among the woods and rocks; but the cavern was become damp and gloomy, and the winds had learnt to chill, and the ſun to ſcorch, and late habits of life had ſhown, that ſuch evils might be avoided, but preſent inexpertneſs precluded the means of avoiding them.

As in the progreſs of the individual from infancy to maturity, ſo in the hiſtory of the ſpecies, we find that the paſſions [13] have borne fruit, when the bloſſoms of reaſon but peeped from the bud: happily in the firſt inſtance, the earlier violences of the youth may at once be calmed and tutored, and even their effects medicated, by the interpoſition of thoſe, who have at once ſuperior reaſon to urge, and ſtrength to reſtrain: but who is to coerce the ſavage, whoſe life fills up an impetuous moment of puberty, in the long progreſſive hiſtory of his kind; who hath awakened at once to wiſhes, and to impotence; to the paſſions of man, and ſcarcely to the inſtinct of a brute? Envy without emulation [14], gloomy diſcontent, and the rage of unſated appetites (the feeble ray of reaſon directing to the object, without throwing ſufficient light to develope its moral and proper uſe, duties, and conſequences) what a dreadful animal muſt they form!—And ſuch was man, when, in the caſe above-mentioned, he recurred to ſolitude, with the full harveſt of wants and paſſions, he had known, and only known how to reap in the fields of ſociety.

In theſe times every diſtrict had its Cacus, and as attack neceſſarily enforces defence, every tribe had its Hercules. Thucyd. L. 1.

In the courſe of a few years, the imitative faculty of man muſt have made ſuch progreſs, and the connexions within the pale of ſociety have become ſo much more complicated, and the dangers Polyb. Hiſt. L. 6.

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dangers from without ſo much more frequent and important, that the brave and the judicious might be ſuppoſed to ſuperſede the pretenſions of the projector or artificer, with whom too progreſſively ſo many claimed in common.

Ariſtot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 11.

THE patriarch ruler gave out ſimple laws [15], or rather maxims, to his people, decided their differences, repelled their enemies, and ſacrificed to their gods [16]; he was their judge, their hero, and their prieſt; he was the only ſlave in the domain [17], for the black ſpirit of deſpotiſm was as yet confined within the magic circle of its duties, which when it tranſgreſſed, the charm of authority and pre-eminence was inſtantaneouſly diſſolved.

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CHAP. III.

OF THE COLONIES ACCEDING TO THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT—OF THE ADVANTAGES THENCE ACCRUING TO THE COMMUNITY——OF THE HEROIC AGE.

WE have traced the firſt population of Attica, we have marked the progreſſive culture of people and of ſoil; and from a mere ſociety of nature ſeen men gradually accumulate on the experience of their forefathers, and lay the groundwork of art and of policy, of the comforts of life, and of the means to enſure them: but the eſtabliſhment had now attained that point in progreſs, that no longer urged by the ſame neceſſities, it was not to be expected they ſhould continue the ſame ſpeed in the career of improvement. Society was now in ſome meaſure formed and regulated, and each individual born to ſome fixed relation in it, cramped by the purſuits and authority of a parent, and reſtrained by the peace and love of order that prevailed throughout, could no longer innovate with applauſe or even ſafety. The ſhort ſeaſon of autumn may ſuffice to the vintage, but whole years are required to mellow and perfect the production: if ſome extraordinary caſualty happened not, the future progreſs of this people was to be the ſlow and imperceptible work of ages: happily ſuch caſualty was not wanting.

Diod. Sic. L. 1.

IT muſt be allowed, that ſoil and climate operate much on the conſtitution and temperament of the body; and the ſubtilty of the nervous fluid, the craſſitude or tenuity of the blood and other juices, the relaxation or tenſion of muſcle, (in a word) the texture of the whole frame, being thus dependant on, and varying

L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 17.

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with exterior cauſes; far as their influence acts, the animal man muſt differ in his ſtrength, paſſions, and acuteneſs, and be accordingly fit or unfit for divers purſuits or modifications of the excellencies of his kind.

It is true, that varieties of a very forcible deſcription actuate individuals even of the ſame nation, and under like predicament of ſpot; acuteneſs directs application; imagination affords matter for the deeper ſpeculatiſt; the politician reins and guides the impetuoſity of the valiant; and every different force and temper of mind incompetent in itſelf, ſeems to ſtrike fire by colliſion with the proper ſubſtance: thus arts flouriſh; thus ſcience civilizes; and thus men, from a very diſcord of character, form the harmony of the ſocial ſyſtem.

Society will doubtleſsly thus perfect itſelf in proportion to the diverſities of its component parts, which by their various combinations and reciprocities, may enlarge the *materia medica* of human weakneſs, and ſerve the wants and luxuries, the hopes and vanities, the curioſity and activity of man. Though an iſolated nation may from the reſources of various character, and of force of genius within itſelf, make much progreſs; may excel in many arts, and puſh its enquiries far in knowledge; yet cannot it cope with others of more general commerce and heterogeneous mixture: let China bear teſtimony to the poſition; Has that vaſt but ſequeſtered empire made a progreſs in human arts and knowledge proportionate to its duration? Do not the infant colonies of the weſt, the very republics of yeſterday, outſtrip her in the great career, and boaſt of theories and inventions ſhe knows not, or if ſhe hath known long, yet knows but imperfectly? It is the general commerce and intercourſe with each other, that hath given the people of Europe this ſudden ſuperiority; a variety of national character hath forced new combinations on that

of individuals; and Italian fancy, French wit, Engliſh penetration, and German aſſiduity, have from divers and diſtant habitations, met and united their common labours, and connected and modified their ſeveral qualities and powers, for the furtherance of every art of utility or entertainment.

ATTICA, in the remoteſt antiquity, boaſted ſimilar advantages; ſcarcely had ſhe attained the firſt rudiments of art and policy, when various colonies acceded to the country, and holding forth a new horn of plenty, enriched her native ſtores with exotic germs of knowledge and civilization. Thucyd. L. 1. Strab. L. 9.

THE religions and the ſciences from the north and from the ſouth, hailed each other in this central ſpot; Orpheus brought in the deities of Thrace; and the Saitæ met him, fraught with all the ſuperſtitions, wiſdom, and policy of old Ægypt: the priſtine inhabitants received this colony as a gift of the gods; cheriſhed it; adopted its cuſtoms; not ſatisfied with merely affording an hoſpitable refuge, tendered honour and dominion, and finally ſeated the chieftain of theſe exiles on the country's throne: the myſteries of religion they incorporated with their own, and Neïtha and Minerva became one; and their own hereditary manners and diſtinctions they gave up, and anew claſſed themſelves, according to the arrangement of duties and honours they were taught by theſe foreign ſettlers: as in Ægypt, the nation was now triply divided into the diſtinct claſſes of the literary noble [18], the countryman, and the artizan: ſo ſudden was the ſtep from irregular policy, to a ſyſtem of good order, and good government. Diod. Sic. L. 1, & 4. Pauſan. Bœot. Plat. Timæ. Procl. Com. in Timæ. Diod. Sic. L. 1. Sect. 28.

THE Carians too (a nation whom Herodotus [19] terms the moſt acute and enlightened of their age) at length forſook their piracy, and fixed themſelves on the coaſt of Attica, long the Herodot. Clio. Strabo. L. 8.

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object of their depredations; they ſoon reconciled themſelves to the previous ſettlers, and at the port Phaleron, laid the foundation of that naval power, which ſubſequently raiſed the Athenians to wealth, to conqueſt, and to empire.

Herodot. Terpſich. Strab. L. 9. Pauſan. Corinth.

NOR was it to theſe exotics only that Attica paid the grateful debt of exact and anxious cultivation; in this age of ſimplicity, the human mind, not refined into depravity, acknowledged virtue and rewarded it: in the ſucceſſion of rulers, we find Melanthus called from Meſſene to the Athenian throne, on account of his valour and wiſdom; and with him many wanderers from various parts of Greece came to partake his government, and cede ſomewhat of their native ruſtic liberty to a ſyſtem of general comfort and ſecurity.

Herodot. Clio. Thucyd. L. 1.

THE chieftains within the petty diſtricts of the Peloponneſe had now ſome time handled the helm of government, but with a rude and unſkilful force: conſtant wars harraſſed them from without, and perpetual diſſention at home; and from imbecility or diſguſt many yet forſook their native hearth, and went in ſearch of an habitation more favourable to their peace, or to their pretenſions; and Attica was the ſcope of each adventure.

THOUGH in the courſe of human acquirements, the nurſeries of theſe men were behind-hand with Attica; yet minds rectified from error, or refined by misfortune, proved no uſeleſs leſſon or unprofitable connexion: ſympathy and ſimilitude of lot, ſoon mutually attached theſe various exiles; the diverſity of origin, and habitual ſentiment and prejudice thence proceeding, naturally induced diſcourſe on their prior ſtate, and reciprocal objections; paſt failings and miſery ſweetened the intercourſe with diffidence and complacency; and as the rougher points and irregularities of two ſurfaces are employed to ſmooth and perfect each

each other; ſo gradually did this commerce deſtroy the crudities of each national character, and form one compact body of reaſonable men and poliſhed citizens.

A LONG continuance of plenty and ſecurity is too apt to elate the mind, and carry it beyond the nice boundaries of prudence and contented virtue: when a ſtate is from low degrees become thus full of rich and reſtive blood, better is it that the humour expend itſelf in ebullition, than recoil and ferment within, to the detriment of the internal commonweal, and perhaps to its very diſſolution and ruin.

AT a time when the habits of converſe and thought had quickened the paſſions and apprehenſion; at a time when the minds of men were growing too active for reſt, and too turbulent for controul; when the wife and the valiant anew felt and claimed diſtinctions over their fellows; when the ambition of ſome, and the envy of others, was ſucceeding to the virtuous and peaceable emulation of all; the danger of relapſing into anarchy was imminent and great: but fortunately, the ſhade of chivalry aroſe, and beckoning each active genius [20] into her circle, preſerved the internal ſtate from that annoyance the wanton ſpirit of the age might ſeem to portend. Damſels raviſhed, and damſels reſcued, make up the hiſtory of this period; not even in the feudal lower age, was enterprize more the delight or admiration of all: the wreath of honour was then firſt ſnatched, and ſeparately and diſtinctly worn from the crown of virtue; whilſt the dangers, and not the motives, of the atchievement were conſidered. Throughout all Greece, ſays Thucydides, "Arms were in every hand, till Athens renewed "the example of civilization, and her citizens firſt laid aſide "the ſword: ſo many wanderers then poured into Attica, as "the only and peculiar ſeat of permanent and happy councils,

Iſocrat. encom. Helen. Diod. Sic. L. 4. Thucyd. L. 1. Plut. in Theſ. v. Hom. Il. &c. &c.

Thucyd. L. 1.

CHAP. III.

" (continues the ſame author) that ſhe too in her turn was " forced to colonize, and ſend forth her ſupernumeraries to till " the fields of Ionia."

Mark the progreſs.—Common ſecurity was the firſt band of union; indigence inſtructed, intereſt cemented, and foreign population enriched and enlarged the ſociety: from long peace and ſecurity ſprang new diſtinctions among men; influence in private life extended to aſcendancy in the ſtate; individuals grew impatient of reſt and of equality; and ambition, like a famiſhed tyger, was recurring to its own litter for ſuſtenance and prey, when a providential caſualty directed its activity to external objects. In the mean time, the commonwealth had peace, and leiſure to find theories for practice, and draw practice from theory; to widen the foundation of the ſtate-ſyſtem, and cement it ſo as to withſtand whatever ſhock, till time and progreſſive reaſon ſhould finiſh the building;—the glory and bulwark of Greece!

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE KINGS—AND OF THE FIRST ARCHONS OF ATHENS.

THE natural rights and liberties of mankind were ſoon felt, though late underſtood; and when, in this ſtate compoſed of divers nations and people, the varieties of each had opened the minds of all; when reaſon and paſſion had ſhown a diſpoſition to make ſtronger and earlier ſhoots in this heterogeneous ſoil; the love and fear of power were of the ſame birth.

FROM the earlieſt period of political authority, whether patriarchic or elect, the people were ever encroaching on its ſupremacy; and many of their kings, raiſed from a low degree to the throne, thought much too of their own duties, and their country's claims, and of their own juſt ſubſerviency to the intereſts of the multitude, whoſe ſovereignty was merely delegated to their care and fidelity. Diod. Sic. L. 4.

FROM the dynaſty of Cecrops to the monarchy of Theſeus, little is there in the narrative worthy the ſpeculations of the politician or philoſopher: the monarchy of Theſeus is particularly deſerving remark; it was a new ſyſtem of government, admitting an intermediate deſcription of men, between the king and the maſs of the people, to a ſhare of power: the heads of families were by Theſeus called to a ſeat in his councils, and veſted with certain dignities, privileges, and immunities, which placed them in a kind of middle ſtate, and conſtituted them at once depoſitaries of the rights of the ſovereign, and of the people. Iſocrat. encom. Helen.

THE

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THE youth of Theſeus was employed in acts of heroic chivalry; we are told, that Scyron, Pityocamptes, and many other notorious leaders of banditti, felt the proweſs of his arms; and on the death of his father Ægeus, that he aſcended the throne of Athens under the auſpicious favour of popular attachment to the brave deliverer of his country. Previous to the reign of Theſeus, the people of Attica were moſtly ſcattered over the inland parts of the country in diverſe ſmall villages; to obviate all diſregard of the commonweal, which might ſpring from ſolitary manners, and from the growth of various dialects and cuſtoms, a coalition of theſe villages or families was the immediate and favourite object of Theſeus; and calling them to a common ſettlement in Athens, he ſtrengthened the capitol of ſovereignty, he awakened the nation to a ſenſe of public intereſt, and he opened the minds and hearts of all by a more enlivening and diffuſive intercourſe. Thenceforward he was honoured as the father of his people; and, ſays Iſocrates, in his Encomion Helenæ (which more properly might be ſtiled the Encomion Theſei) "it was a ſtruggle between Theſeus and "his ſubjects, which ſhould give moſt, the king of freedom, "or the people of power." Having eſtabliſhed, as he ſuppoſed, on a firm footing ſuch civil and religious inſtitutions as ſeemed for the benefit of his people, his old occupations of chivalry again allured him [21] into the field of enterprize, and he left his government to delegated authority. During his abſence, that authority was ſo far encroached upon and diminiſhed by the increaſing intereſt and influence of the nobles he had created, and of the commonalty he had enfranchiſed, that on his return to reſume the ſceptre, he found it under a controul to which his active ſpirit was repugnant; yet loving his people too well to wreſt from them that degree of freedom which gradually had been founded on the baſis of his own principles of equal laws, and temperate adminiſtration, Theſeus retired from the conteſt,

and

Plut. Vit. Theſ. Strab. L. 9.

Diod. Sic. L. 4. Thucyd. L. 1.

Iſocrat. en com. Hel.

Plut. Vit. Theſ.

and went a voluntary exile to Scyros. From the epoch of this reign we are not to wonder then, that whilſt other countries boaſt a long and ſucceſſive train of heroes, we find in the liſt of Athenian kings but very few marked in characters of renown: the ſpirit of the people was ever in vigilant oppoſition to that of deſpotiſm, and ſplendid ambition found not means of eluding the caution of the public, and of wading into the fields of glory through bloodſhed and oppreſſion: thus the ſervants, and not maſters of the community, their pre-eminence of character was in general confined to virtues which were the portion of many, and undiſtinguiſhed as each individual ſtar in the galaxy, though ſtill making part of its beauty and its luſtre: if any one king attained a brighter and more glorious name than others, it was by ſome act of danger to himſelf, or of benefit to the ſtate, and which would equally have ennobled its meaneſt conſtituent; but from Theſeus to Codrus we find few diſtinguiſhed by any eccentric exploit.

CODRUS paid the debt of nature to his country; and under pretence of deference to the memory of this their heroic king, the Athenians permitted none thereafter to bear the ſame title. Juſt. Hiſt. L. 2. C. 7.

HITHERTO the *Libido Regum* had full ſway and authority; no written laws, or definite regulations as yet circumſcribed the abuſe of power; whatever reſtrictions might curb its exceſs, were founded on the comparative fears of the prince, the pretenſions of the eminent, and the impetuoſity of the multitude: but the time was now come when inſtitution was to correct the ſyſtem of command and ſubmiſſion, and to aſcertain the adequate degree of each.

SOME authors have idly claſſed the firſt Archons with the Athenian kings, obſerving that a change took place in little more Meurſ. de Reg. Att. Stanyan, Rollin, &c.

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more than in the title of the maſter: were this the fact, ſtill was the alteration of moment; even in the moſt enlightened ages what preſcriptive devotion hath been paid to mere words! how much honour and authority have attended a title, even when uſurped through the worſt of crimes and meaneſt of frauds! Are there none, even *in a land of freedom and of ſcience*, whoſe hearts yet acknowledge the hereditary and ſlaviſh prejudices of their forefathers, and who would cancel their very bond of independancy, and crouch for their all to ſome idol name?

THE word *king* had in Attica, as elſewhere, a traditionary aſcendant over many who knew not the purport of the title, or the individual who bore it; with the name, much of this blind veneration ceaſed; and reſpect, that great barrier againſt public liberty, being broken down, the paths to an independant commonwealth were not leſs open than alluring.

IN truth, the change of title was not the only change that took place on the death of the patriot Codrus: "The Medon-
Pauſan. Meſſen. "tidæ," (ſays Pauſanias) "received the ſovereignty [22] much "abridged of its former power, and ultimately made *accountable* "to the people, for a juſt and due exerciſe of the truſt repoſed:" what theſe reſtrictions or qualifications of power were, we are not told; but they muſt have been manifold and ſtrong, to have rendered the laſt regulation of any effect; for who ſhall dare to meet the lion in his foreſt? Can deſpotiſm be called to account? The hardy challenger, if ſuch is to be found, muſt prepare for death, or the ſtate for a revolution! But perhaps the proofs are more than preſumptive, that on the eſtabliſhment of the Archons, their ſway was confined to much narrower limits than that of their predeceſſors; and that an accuſation was neither uncommon in itſelf, nor dangerous to the appellant. The
Ariſtot. Pol. L. 5. C. 12. uſurper Piſiſtratus, pleading as a delinquent before the court of

 Areopagus,

Areopagus, ſeems to have had retroſpect to ſome ſimilar cuſtom of the Archons, and to ſeek favour from his citizens by this deference to their prior inſtitutions: other facts might be adduced; but I think the future hiſtory of the commonwealth is ſufficient proof of what is aſſerted: on the death of Alcmæon did any commotion ſucceed, when the government was made decennial? Did not the citizens, fearleſs of any evaſion of this their new determination, confide the temporary ſceptre to the ſame family which had borne it in perpetuity? Was not this decennial government in force for ſeventy years? and had any one of theſe Archons the hardineſs or authority to extend the duration of their command? Yet I find not that Charops' office differed from that of his brother Alcmæon, excepting in limitation of time.

Vell. Paterc. L. 1. C. 8.

A TEN years command ſtill ſeemed to preclude too many candidates; and to the reſtleſs competition of the Ploutocracy [23] Athens was indebted for a further ſtep into the regions of freedom: the Archonſhip was made annual; and the power was divided among nine, inveſted with different branches of office, and with various duties and authority.

Ibid.

THIS Oligarchy ſeverally acting with a vague and indefinite exerciſe of juriſprudence, and as differing as partial in their decrees, ſoon gave riſe to faction, to party, and to diſcontent. The commonalty demanded ſome ſecurity for their perſons and property; the nobles wiſhed to ſtrengthen their order by unanimity; and the alien deprecated the judgment, which unreſtricted might echo to the call of native affections, and of domeſtic intereſts: thus all united to require written and irrefragable rules of juriſdiction.

Aul. Gell. L. 11. C. 18.

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DRACO [24] was ſummoned by the general voice of his countrymen to be their legiſlator; and his *Theſmoi* (though the few remaining, I think, by no means ſpeak him equal to the ſublime truſt he was honoured with) for a time gave quiet and harmony to the republic.

Aul. Gell. L. 2. C. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

OF THE LEGISLATION OF SOLON.

THE ſophiſt deep in midnight lucubration exults over the ſolution of his problem, and looks down on the purſuits of others with deriſion and contempt; reſpect indeed ſeems due to the operations of intellect, in preference to the more mechanical labours of the body; but if (as we ought to do) we meaſure the value of every occupation by its comparative uſefulneſs to ſociety, the recluſe ſtudies of many will appear to be but a more ſpecious way of trifling; and honeſt induſtry will bear the palm over ſuch idle ſpeculations, however fanciful and penetrating. Mental reſearches, when directed to proper objects, have the juſteſt claim to our veneration; but let us proportion it to the benefits thence accruing to mankind, nor hallow thoſe ingenious extravagancies, the praiſe of which has already allured too many adepts in ſcience beyond its juſt and uſeful limits, into ſome wild and unprofitable ſearch, after a truth without conſequence, or ſyſtem without foundation.

OF all employments of the mind, ſurely that is the worthieſt, and, as it were, divine, which tends to eſtabliſh order in ſociety; to humanize the great Leviathan; to adapt the various parts of the vaſt machine of ſocial government, and nicely fit each ſpring where it can beſt act, each wheel where it can beſt move, to the intent and good purpoſes of the general combination; to duly weigh and obviate the friction that might impede, or material which might ſwerve to the detriment of the diverſe parts, till the whole proceed in juſt and invariable concert!

THE

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THE legiſlator muſt be experienced, to know mankind; and wiſe, for he is to direct them; he muſt be virtuous, for precepts are to be recommended by example; and brave, for innovation is to be enforced with courage; and, after all, ſays the younger Pliny, "*Neque cuiquam tam clarum ſtatim ingenium eſt, "ut poſſit emergere, niſi illi materia, occaſio, fautor etiam com- "mendatorque contingat:*" to few as ſuperiority of genius is allotted, to fewer is allowed the opportunity of exerting it.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

IT was ſoon found, that the regulations of Draco were inadequate to the great purpoſe of harmonizing the diſcordant intereſts of the citizens of Athens: the rich and the poor ſtill combated with the reſpective force of authority and numbers; and thoſe who were in a middle ſtate of competency, diſreliſhed a ſituation which was to include them in the conqueſts of either party, the ſlaves of a deſpotic faction, or the prey of a lawleſs multitude.

Ibid. Diog. Laert. Vit. Solon.

ARTS of every kind had made a quick progreſs; the pirates from Caria had introduced the knowledge of navigation; and the parentage of its citizens in foreign countries, had given Athens early notions of profiting by a connexion with diverſe

Iſocrat. Paneg.

and diſtant parts: trade ſoon gave birth to inequalities of opulence and power; and now in this general mart, this ſeat of rivalſhip and commerce, the encreaſing love and examples of luxury demanded the readieſt and quickeſt road to wealth: project might enhance on the profits of trade, and a well-concerted ſcheme ſuddenly place the loweſt citizen on a level with the moſt wealthy; thus many, of a voluptuous or ambitious ſpirit, ſtrained their every faculty in ſome novel and viſionary purſuit.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

THE rich favoured this deſtructive ſpirit of enterprize, by advancing neceſſaries for theſe undertakings; the returns of which

which being found moſt precarious, the intereſt for loans was encreaſed, till, in fine, even a ſmall debt became the groundwork of an inſolvency; and under ſevere laws of credit, thought neceſſary in a commercial commonwealth, very many were at the mercy of their fellow-citizens. It was a law, that the debtor, whoſe pecuniary means were inſufficient, was to repay the loan by corporal ſervice; but as the intereſt of the debt was out of all proportion to the principal, well were it, if a diſcharge of that, and by the ſevereſt ſervitude, could appeaſe the taſkmaſter, and prevent other wanton, and yet legal, exerciſe of his reſentment. Under ſuch circumſtances [25], ſome even of the moſt wealthy, but who had avoided all uſurious practices, dreaded the croud of inſtruments of ambition, which others of their order had under their controul, and which, by a conditional or a favourable treatment, might be engaged or conciliated to abet any treacherous ſchemes of uſurpation on the part of their aſpiring maſters. Joining with thoſe of the middle ſtate, they ſought to anticipate a criſis by a new regulation of the commonwealth: they united their efforts to influence the body of the people; the virtues and wiſdom of Solon had rendered him eminently conſpicuous, and, not as uſual by ballot, but by general ſuffrage, he was declared Archon and lawgiver.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

Ælian. Var. Hiſt. L. 8. C. 10.

Solon being aſked, "How injury or injuſtice might be for-
"bidden a place in human ſociety;" anſwered, "By teaching
"*all* to feel the injuries done to *each*."—To fix ſuch ſocial intereſt, ſuch philanthropy on inſtitution; to direct equally the hopes and fears, equally the reaſon and paſſions of *all*, to the ſame object, to the ſecurity of *all*; in a word, wiſely to profit of the connexion of ſelf-love and ſocial, and by making each man a citizen, to make each citizen a patriot, ſeems to have been the great object in view throughout the legiſlation of Solon. To this effect, this great lawgiver reſorted not, in poverty of political

Diog. Laert. Vit. Solon.

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political reſource, to the ſimple fabric of an unqualified democracy; but imagined and reduced to ſyſtem a commonwealth, wherein virtue, wherein property, and every ſubſtantial diſcrimination from character or poſſeſſion, was acknowledged and preſerved; and the beſt principles of ariſtocratic and popular government were combined by inſtitutions equally favourable to ſubordination and to liberty, to civil gradations, and to the rights of mankind.

Xenoph. Pol. Ath. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 2. C. 10.

In the aſſembly of the citizens at large, Solon veſted the laſt reſort of juſtice, and of policy, and of election; for the intereſts of the whole were concerned in the ſentence, or deciſion, or choice: within the higher order or ranks of men, he diſtributed the great truſts of executive power; for a liberal education and independance he deemed requiſite to office, and the diſtinctions of birth and character might give authority to the diſcharge of it. He divided the people into four claſſes [26], regulated by a cenſus of property: the Archonſhip, with other offices of expence as well as dignity, were limited to the firſt claſs; the leſſer magiſtracies, and municipal and military offices, were open to thoſe of the ſecond and third; thoſe of the laſt, termed "*Thetes*," were incapacitated from holding places of public truſt; but from their voice in the aſſembly they had, with their fellow-citizens, a common intereſt, importance, and ſecurity.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

Ibidem.

To the Eupatridai or nobles he confined the great council and judiciary court called Areopagus, and beſtowed on it every honour and dignity: to equiponderate the balance, he on the other ſide conſtituted a ſenate annually to be choſen from the ſeveral tribes; and in this were reſident the greater political power and authority: all matters, whether of revenue, or legiſlation, or war, or peace, previous to a reference to the people, were herein propoſed, argued, and explained; and rejected, or

Xenoph. Πολ. Αθηναιων, Cap. 3. § 2. Plut. Vit. Solon.

dreſt

dreſt out for debate in the aſſembly, as ſhould ſeem moſt fitting and ſalutary: this ſenate, moreover, not only debated on the expediency of ſuch laws, as it might ſeem from time to time neceſſary to introduce into the conſtitutional code, ere they were propoſed in the aſſembly; but occaſionally enacted laws, which laws were to be in force for a year, during which period of probation, their good or evil tendency became obvious to the people, who accordingly annulled, or confirmed them.

As the Areopagus was compoſed only of the moſt eminent of the Patricians, of ſuch as had gone through the Archonſhip with credit and applauſe; ſo the ſenate was a compound of the beſt men of the whole community; the candidates lives were ſtrictly examined into, by the guardians of their reſpective tribes; and again, previous to the ballot, they were to be approved of by the Archons; nay, ſo pure were thoſe ſtanding for ſenatorial or other official departments expected to appear, that if any, without other crime than that of inſolvency to their creditors, ſurreptitiouſly evaded the ſcrutiny, and thus gained a public place of truſt, death was the penalty of their preſumption. Even ebriety in an Archon was a capital offence; but, on the other hand, his good fame as well as perſon were protected by laws adjudging to death the man who ſhould calumniate or inſult him. Under ſuch precautions, the reader will obſerve, that the *ballot*, far from being a ridiculous mode of forming a magiſtrature, preſerved impartiality in the ſtate, gave diſcontent the colour of irreligion, and to every virtuous and ſenſible citizen, and to only ſuch, opened a claim to office and a probability of ſucceſs.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

Ariſt. Pol. L. 2. C. 12. Æſchin. Orat. in Timocrat.

Demoſth. in Leptin. & in Timocrat. Plut. Vit. Solon. Ulpian. in Midiam. Dem.

Demoſth. Orat. de falſâ Legat. Æſchin. cont. Cteſiph.

It was the Prætorſhip and other offices and powers which in aftertimes were beſtowed by ſuffrage, and not thoſe drawn by lot, that proved ruinous to the republic.

Hiſt. ſparſim.

CHAP. V.

As the voice of the ſenate might be ſuppoſed for the moſt part to have ſufficient weight with the people to influence and direct their reſolutions, each meaner denizen might ſeem too little intereſted in, and, as it were, eſtranged from the commonwealth; in order therein to give him a further ſelf-conſequence from public occupation, a judicial capacity [27] was aſſigned to all whoſe irreproachable morals and conduct permitted the claim; and their names were drawn by lot for the ſeveral juries in the different courts of judicature.

Plut. Vit. Solon. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 2. Xenoph. Pol. Ath.

It was ſtrongly inculcated, that office was not to be courted as giving power and aſcendancy; its powers originated in, and belonged only to, the conſtitution; and its duties, and duties only, were conſidered as properly belonging to the magiſtrate, or miniſter confided in: the more forcibly to inſtil this idea, and to wipe the blot of injuſtice too from this diſtinction, each man in office, from the Archon to the juryman, received a daily ſtipend [28] for his ſervices and attendance; and thus too the poorer but good citizen, ſaw not his family diſtreſſed from the ſacrifice of his private vocation to public duties.

Xenoph. Pol. Ath. C. 2.

Various were the laws framed, more particularly to inculcate, that the ſtate belonged to every man, and every man to the ſtate: the debtor's effects might be ſeized, but his perſon was ſacred; for his goods and chattels were private property, but himſelf belonged to the republic: exception was made in the diſtrein to implements of huſbandry and art; for idleneſs was at Athens a crime, and to admit crimes of neceſſity were to foſter the moſt abſurd paradox. In order further to encourage induſtry, it was enacted, that no ſon ſhould be obliged to ſupport a father in his old age, who had not taught that ſon a trade; by which law all were induced to cultivate trade, and thereby ultimately

Plut. Vit. Solon.

mately promote the intereſts of ſtate, a free ſtate dependant on commerce for its encreaſing wealth and population. CHAP. V.

In all civil, and other caſes of trial, the parties concerned might chooſe their reſpective advocates; but the advocate was to receive no emolument from his client; every citizen was his brother, and he was to expect thanks and retribution from their general parent, the commonwealth: *that parent* too provided for and foſtered the children of thoſe ſlain in its battles, and fighting for their country. Demoſth. pro Coron. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 2. C. 6.

It has been obſerved, that he reſtricted the higher offices of truſt to the Patrician. To fix the ſtate on the ſelf-conſequence therein of each individual, he made the executive branch in all caſes reſponſible [29] to the whole body of the people for a due exerciſe of the truſt repoſed; the very mover of a reſolution in the aſſembly was liable to be afterwards called to account for the conſequences of his mere propoſition; and thence the artful and intereſted ſpeaker feared to avail himſelf of an unguarded moment of paſſion or prejudice, to influence the populace to decrees of partial tendency, or inconducive to the common welfare: an entrance moreover into the higher order, was by no means precluded to thoſe of the lower claſs, for the qualification was a particular and fixed rental; and therein hope, ever of more active influence than poſſeſſion, found new cauſe of attachment to the republic, and commerce rejoiced in new incentives to induſtry. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 2. C. 10, & L. 3. C. 7. Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſ.

The happineſs and rights of men were Solon's objects, and having provided for them by a wiſe and impartial legiſlation, he adopted other regulations neceſſary to the giving vigour and perpetuity to his ſyſtem. With a view of precluding an inordinate encreaſe of landed eſtate, on which unconſtitutional influ- Ariſtot. Pol. L. 2. C. 5.

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ence might be ſuppoſed to build, as on its proper baſis; he made a new diſtribution of the lands of Attica, and by agrarian inſtitutions obviated any future infringement on that diſtribution.

Athenæ. Deipnoſ. L. 5.

To prevent conſpiracies [30] of the diſcontented and factious, or at leaſt to prevent large and ſecluſive meetings unknown to the ſtate, the numbers of gueſts at feaſts and entertainments were limited; and every where, and at all times, there was free acceſs to the public cenſors: if any civil commotion occurred, neutrality was ſubject to ſuch ſevere and heavy penalties, that action ſeemed eligible even to the timid; and thus all being made parties, any particular combination might more readily be cruſhed.

Aul. Gell. L. 2. C. 12.

It belongs not to this comment to particulariſe the private laws of Solon; every author of note bears witneſs to the veneration they were held in by antiquity: Cicero is a very enthuſiaſt when he ſpeaks of this great legiſlator; Livy tells us, that when Poſthumius, and others, were ſent into Greece by the Decemvirs, they were ordered "*Inclytas leges Solonis* deſcribere, *aliarum* "*Græciæ civitatum inſtituta, mores, juraque* noſcere:" and Tacitus having enumerated other great lawgivers, proceeds in climax to "*Quæſitiores, Leges Solonis.*"

De Oratore & in Bruto. Liv. Hiſt. L. 2.

Tacit. Annal. 3. § 26.

The opinions of the great ancient writers, on the more public part of Solon's inſtitutions, merit a particular attention; as I think the bent and ſcope of his legiſlation hath been often miſtaken; and, as to underſtand the future revolutions within the ſtate of Athens, it is neceſſary that the grounds we ſet out from ſhould be accurately and diſtinctly marked out.

According to the opinion of Ariſtotle, the commonwealth of Solon was a compound of three ſeveral forms of government;

ment [31]; says he, "Solon happily combined the states of "his republic, in the council of Areopagus having constituted "an oligarchy; in regulations of election to executive powers, "an aristocracy; and in the last resort of justice, a democracy:" thus this state was by no means simply that which we understand by the word "*Democracy*;" which (under the acceptation deducible from its etymology) never was a constitution of government, but the perversion of a constitution of government. Says the same author, "the eccentricities or perversions of po- "litical constitution, are, tyranny of monarchy, oligarchy of "aristocracy, and democracy of a republic; neither of which "tends to public good." He terms the commonwealth of Solon *Politeia* or *Republic*; "and such," says he, "ever tends to the "public good:" or inversely, as himself hath stated it, "when "the community is governed by institutions tending to the "welfare of all, the name common to every such state is a re- "public." Aristotle, in his strictures on the Legislation of Solon, further observes, "that he seems not to have much in- "novated on the old constitution of senate and magistracies, but "simply to have enfranchised the people, and to have touched "the ancient institutions only so far, as seemed necessary to pro- "mote and secure that enfranchisement." Plato places the commonwealth of Solon, yet wider of democracy: he says, in his funeral oration [32], "the constitution of state by which here- "tofore we were governed, and in most respects are, and ever "have been, is an *Aristocracy*; some may call it a Democracy, "or what they will, but in truth it is an *Aristocracy founded on* "*public estimation*:" the nervous expression of Plato is peculiarly happy and applicable; for the regulations requiring a competency of character and property in those pretending to the executive government, rendered it truly aristocratic; whereas it yet was dependant, in the first instance of its formation, on the choice

Aristot. Pol. L. 2. C. 10.

Aristot. Pol. L. 3. C. 5.

Ibid.

Aristot. Pol. L. 2. Cap. 12.

Plat. Menexen.

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choice of the people, and in the ſecond inſtance, of its demiſe, or their retroſpective approbation and judgment.

Plat. Polit. 8.

PLATO, in his treatiſe of an imaginary commonwealth, enumerating five different forms of government, the Ariſtocratia, Timarchia, Oligarchia, Democratia, and Tyrannis, expatiates on the characteriſtics of each; and then, giving ſcope to his fancy, places in appoſition to each reſpective inſtitution, the character of an individual; with the Ariſtocratia, the man of virtue and wiſdom; with the Oligarchia, the man fraught with envy, avarice, and pride; with the Timarchia, the man of ambition and honour; with the Democratia, the turbulent, looſe, and licentious man; and with the Tyrannis, the man of imperious and vindictive temper. The Timarchia, or government of honours and nobility, Plato lays as a medium betwixt the ariſtocracy and oligarchy, and the ariſtocracy he prefers to all: but Plato's Ariſtocracy is a free republic, wherein virtue has the only pre-eminence; and his Timarchia is the ariſtocracy of other politicians; whereas his Democracy is no conſtitution of government at all, and ſcarcely even implies a community; the philoſopher ſuppoſing each conſtituent to act ſeverally and individually, without attention or regard to what is doing by the reſt of the ſociety, even on the eſſential points of peace and war; "*Nor do*

Plat. Polit.

"*they heed laws* [33] written or unwritten, to effect that no "one may have a controul over another:" ſuch ſtate is a mere anarchy, and, as the great writer juſtly obſerves, muſt probably end in a tyranny, as ſoon as any one man may attempt it, whoſe qualities and character are ſuited to the extending aſcendancy with the people to uſurpation of ſupreme power.

Polyb. Hiſt. L. 6.

POLYBIUS makes a juſt diſtinction, when he mentions the *Oclocracy*, or "mob-government," as a corruption of the Democracy,

cracy, when taken in the acceptation of ſome writers." The Democracy, *as it has been called*, of Solon, when eſtabliſhed by Cliſthenes, was of the beſt kinds of republic; and the evils that enſued, in the courſe of Athenian hiſtory, from the flux of morals, and the concomitant innovations on the original polity, are not to be placed to the account of the firſt inſtitution. To recall the republic to its ancient manners and ancient laws, was all that even the good old reformer Iſocrates deſired. Says he [34], "I foreſee but one reſource capable of averting the misfortunes "impending over us, and of remedying the preſent evils we "labour under; let us recur to that pure *democracy* as inſti- "tuted by Solon, the friend of freedom and of his country, and "as eſtabliſhed by Cliſthenes, when he expelled the tyrants, and "united the people of Athens."

Iſocrat. Arch. Orat.

Whatever *term* Iſocrates, and whatever *term* even Solon (if his letter to Crœſus be genuine) *may have choſen to adopt*, as Plato expreſſes it; from the great authorities above cited, it appears to have been both *his* and *their* meaning, that the commonwealth of Athens was originally a mixed republic: that it had a tendency, however, to become, in proceſs of time, a more popular and democratic ſtate, will appear from a ſummary review of the powers veſted in the people by their great legiſlator. To the public aſſembly of the citizens were aſſigned public deliberation on queſtions of the commonweal; a negative in legiſlation on the edicts, or propoſitions of the ſenate; debate and ultimate deciſion on ſubjects of general policy; the aſſeſſment and diſpoſition of revenue; direction of its application, and reviſion of its management; the laſt reſort of juſtice in caſes of public delinquency; and the election to military command, and to ſome civil offices, in caſes wherein the inſtitution preferred the courſe of ſuffrage; and (what was the moſt important in its conſequences) the election in all caſes when a general ſenſe of peculiar

Ep. Solon. ap. Diog. Laert.

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liar exigency and peculiar merit called for a ſuperceſſion of the ordinary mode by ballot; yet with attention to regulations of cenſus and legal diſqualifications, which could not be diſpenſed with from any ſentiment of danger or predilection which a particular occaſion or character might ſuggeſt. Draco was called to the archonſhip by popular ſuffrage, ſo was Solon, and ſo was Ariſtides afterwards.

Plut. Vit. Ariſtid.

To ſuch extenſive powers, and lodged in ſuch hands, it might be obſerved, that no diſtinctions ariſing from property, from birth, or from character, could form a proper balance; that every regulation to the prejudice of popular intereſts, or popular will, was merely matter of ſufferance; and that the ſcales of a mixed and qualified conſtitution of government were no ways equipoiſed: I will add, that, as the ſteelyard ſunk ever ſo little, the weight muſt ſlide down the beam, and give yet greater momentum to the power which had the undue influence. Thus monarchies become tyrannies, and ariſtocracies become oligarchic: when this influence is the influence of the people, it is more certain in its effect, and more dangerous to any conſtitution of government, than the ariſtocratic or monarchic, or any other branch thereof whatever; for the obvious reaſon, that the greater numbers of the people to the political, add a *natural force and conſequence in themſelves*, which a prince, or a faction of nobles, muſt depend for upon *others*. All governments in which there is admitted a *legal* and *direct* power of the people by themſelves or repreſentatives, hence have been, and, I think, ever muſt be diſſolved, by that power exceeding its original and legal limits, or by its extending, through its own authority, thoſe legal limits, which is the ſame thing; and which we ſhall find was the caſe at Athens, where, to uſe the force of Ariſtotle's expreſſion, the Politeia was perverted into a democracy; a looſe and licentious ſtate, wherein the paſſions of the high and mean ſpirited are ever

at

at variance; wherein all the varieties of the human compoſition act, and are acted upon; and wherein the diſſenſions of the rich, the needy, and of a thouſand intermediate deſcriptions of men, give an opening to, or rather neceſſitate, factions, intrigue, and corruption: till ſome artful and enterpriſing man, through great qualities and actions, or through deceit and peculation, or jointly by honourable and by indirect means, acquires a credit and aſcendancy with one party of the people, which empowers him to direct, to lead, to command, and, perhaps, to enſlave the people in general, and his partizans with the reſt. CHAP. V.

THE examples to the theory contained in theſe obſervations are frequent and forcible. In the immediate courſe of this work—like to the ſix verſes prefixed to a canto of Spenſer or of Arioſto—the ſtory of Piſiſtratus ſtands forth an epitome to the comprehenſive hiſtory of the republic.

How blind is man! how dark ſeem the paths through which a beneficent Providence often conducts him to ſucceſs! Whilſt we peruſe the innumerable examples upon record of ſlight misfortune conducing to much proſperity; of the miſeries which in the lives of many have proved agents to their ſuperior happineſs; of ſtates elevated through the improbable means of depreſſion; we ought not, in the apparently evil ſituation of ourſelves or country, to cheriſh our deſpondency by ſpecious calculation or preſumptuous foreſight; but rather look up to the divine will in thankfulneſs,—

— *Quod liceat ſperare timenti!* Lucan. Pharſal. 3.

IT was ſcarcely poſſible that the habitudes of ſubſerviency and command ſhould ſuddenly be eradicated; and private diſcontent was more likely to find freſh plea for faction in, than to be quieted by, new arrangements. When Solon pruned the

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privileges and power of the oligarchy, the reſentment muſt have been great; when he beſtowed new liberties on the people, the gratitude might have been little. It was in the temper and frame of human nature, for the few to remember the loſs, and for the number to be careleſs of the gift. In fine, it was not probable that order and freedom ſhould be ſuddenly eſtabliſhed amongſt a people accuſtomed to the alternatives of turbulence or ſubmiſſion; the more perfect the ſyſtem, the leſs conſtant adherence thereto was to be expected from the wavering qualities of indolence, avarice, ſervility, and ambition. *It was the uſurpation of Piſiſtratus that prepared a ſtrong and adequate foundation for the commonwealth of Solon.*

Diog. Laert. Vit. Solon. Herodot. Clio.

PISISTRATUS proved the beſt of kings; and by his authority enforcing due obſervance of the private, and of ſome too of the public inſtitutions of Solon, he taught that great lawgiver's name gradually to be revered; till arrived at a proper maturity, the ſtate availed itſelf of an opportunity to firmly eſtabliſh the whole body of laws, and the conſtitution ſo wiſely calculated to make them an happy and free people.

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OF PISISTRATUS.

THE ready acquieſcence of the Ploutocracy in the legiſlation of Solon, could not proceed but from the impoſſibility of immediate reſiſtance to a meaſure they did not expect, and therefore were not prepared to oppoſe. His Agrarian laws; his Seithacthia [35], or remiſſion of debts; their previous life of cruelty and injuſtice, which no act of amneſty could cancel in the book of conſcience, however it might preclude public puniſhment, or private inſult;—theſe, and many other circumſtances gave birth to conflicting paſſions of various bent and force; but all puſhing to the ſubverſion of a government ſo obnoxious to the prior habits of vice and tyranny. Plut. Vit. Sol. Diog. Laert. Vit. ejuſd.

THE diſaffected to this new commonwealth formed a coalition; and, had it not been for the more ſoaring ambition of ſome of the party, again had the ſtate recoiled into all the evils of its tyrannous ariſtocracy: Lycurgus and Megacles, two of the moſt powerful and opulent of the rank of nobles, headed each their reſpective forces, in contention for the ſupreme power; and the maritime and inland inhabitants of Attica formed two diſtinct parties, adhering ſeverally to the one and other of theſe great men, when Piſiſtratus raiſed a third party from the refuſe of the mariners and populace, and bore down the whole weight of landed intereſt together. The hatred of the poor to the rich is the cauſe to which Ariſtotle attributes his ſo readily gaining the multitude in his favour; but it may be placed to the account of a general cauſe, ever operating in Herodot. Clio. Juſtin. Hiſt. L. 2. C. 9. Ariſt. Pol. L. 5. C. 6.

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like manner under like circumſtances. About the ſame time that Piſiſtratus became tyrant at Athens, Panætius uſurped at Leontium, Cypſelus at Corinth, and Dionyſius at Syracuſe; and all from having been demagogues and aſſertors of popular freedom. Of all the paths to uſurpation, the moſt ready is through the favour of the poorer claſs; their numbers are at once greater, and no individual intereſt therein is of ſufficient moment to break the combination; their intellect being confined to narrower limits, its ſeat and bent is more eaſily diſcovered by the artful orator; and, of nearly equal force and tenor throughout the liſt of individuals, he is not at the pains of ſearching for and combining the varieties of reaſoning ſuited to different tempers and minds; and thus is his taſk leſs difficult; and as his art is leſs neceſſary, his fallacy is leſs obvious. The paſſions, too, of the multitude are eaſily awakened, and, undirected by penetration to diſtant objects, are contented to ſympathize with thoſe before them, and thus readily are worked upon by the well-acted part of an ambitious demagogue.

Ariſt. Pol. L. 5. C. 2.

To theſe obſervations, it may be added, on the particular ſubject of the uſurpation of Piſiſtratus,—that whoever, and however great may be the firſt inciters of commotion, it is in the maſs of the people that then lays the ultimate reſolve; the ties of government being looſened, the multitude feel and exert too their own ſtrength; and to direct and take the lead in *their cauſe* (as they may be taught to conſider *almoſt any cauſe*), they ever prefer ſome bold and inſidious pretender to patriotiſm, whom, as the creature of their own making, in the figurative language of Plato, "*they ſuſtain, pamper up, and make important* "*and great; and when a deſpot is given birth to, it is from ſuch* "*ſtock that his honours and power bud forth* [36]."

Plat. Pol. L. 8.

QUINCTILIAN

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QUINCTILIAN ſeems deſirous, in his delineation of a perfect orator, of entering into competition with the wiſe man of the Stoics, by crouding into the catalogue of accompliſhments, every virtue and every talent. Perhaps Piſiſtratus approximated the exalted character nearer than any of antiquity. Cicero calls him the prince of Grecian eloquence [37]. His epiſtles breathe the ſpirit of virtue and philanthropy: his bravery had been proved in a war with Megara, as well as in the enterprize that placed him on the throne: his wiſdom was eſteemed ſuch, that his name was added to the liſt of ſages of Greece: he was the firſt who inſtituted a public library; and the friends to learning and the liberal arts remember that it was, perhaps, to the erudition and care of Piſiſtratus that we owe the preſent exiſtence of the Iliad: as a man, and as a citizen, we have the great lawgiver's expreſs aſſent to his poſſeſſing the virtues of either in ſo eminent a degree, as to leave no room for cenſure, excepting of his ambition to be ſupreme; and when veſted with the ſupreme power, each acrimonious reproof of Solon ſtill cloſes with the confeſſion, "that he was the beſt of kings."

In Bruto.

Ap. Diog. Laert. in Vit. Sol.

Plut. Vit. Sol.

Athenæ Deip. L. 1.

Aul. Gell. L. 6. C. 17.

Cicero in Oratore.

Ep. Sol. ap. Diog. Laert.

SOLON was much indebted to him for every mark of private regard and friendſhip; and his character as a legiſlator owed not leſs to him on the ſcore of public honour and veneration; for Piſiſtratus not only adopted and enforced his laws, but recommended them too by the moſt condeſcending example, elevating the dignity of the Areopagus by his own public homage and ſubmiſſion to its authority.

Piſiſt. Ep. ap. Diog. Laert.

Ariſtot. Pol. L. 5. C. 12.

PISISTRATUS [38] was well apprized that habits of power are not readily foregone, and he accordingly baniſhed the chief of the ariſtocracy from the city. He well knew that the idle would be meddling and tumultuous, and therefore neceſſitated every denizen to purſue ſome trade or occupation; but, as he likewiſe

Herodot. Clio.

Ælian. Hiſt. Var. L. 9. C. 25.

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likewiſe foreſaw, that commerce was not to be foſtered but by a ſpirit of equality, and national freedom incompatible with his views of government, he directed the attention and induſtry of his ſubjects to, as yet much neglected, agriculture. Perhaps, too, he had the penetration to judge the career of the Athenians to have been hitherto too haſty; and remanded them to their primitive occupation, as not being yet ſufficiently mature for the habitation of a great city,—to grace injuſtice with policy, to adorn corruption with elegance, and to clothe, as it were, the nakedneſs of vice.

PISISTRATUS underwent many reverſes [39] of fortune. I have but little regret that materials are wanting for a deſcription of the petty wars and details of government during the ſeventy years of the decennial archonſhip, or the times immediately ſucceeding; but I lament that the viciſſitudes of the life of Piſiſtratus have not been ſufficiently particulariſed to afford "*the ſpirit of character and event.*"

Herodot. Clio.

WERE we acquainted with a minute detail relative to Megacles connecting himſelf with his competitor Lycurgus to expel their common enemy; his recal of that enemy to worſt his prior opponent; the ſecond expulſion of Piſiſtratus, from motives of family reſentment and domeſtic intrigue; and, again, his reſtoration to the regal ſeat;—had we, I ſay, a juſt and particular account of each fact and agent of this wondrous little hiſtory, ſo much political theory might be found to concenter in it, as to merit not a chapter, but a volume.

Ariſt. Pol. L. 5. C. 12.

As much virtue and as much wiſdom have often been employed to effect a purpoſe in common life, as to manage a miniſterial buſineſs; and the memoirs of one, whoſe hours are checquered with the functions and difficulties of at once a pub-

lic and private ſtation, moſt juſtly engage the avidity of the reader: how much, then, would his attention be fixed to the intereſting leſſon of a commonwealth repeatedly wavering to domeſtic incidents, and public and private intereſts, reciprocally influencing, and depending on, the one, the other? CHAP. VI.

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CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

OF HIPPARCHUS — OF ARISTOGEITON AND HARMODIUS — OF THE LOVER AND THE BELOVED.

Heredot. Clio. SO firmly had Piſiſtratus eſtabliſhed his power, that on his deceaſe, it deſcended peaceably and without commotion to his children; and we are told, "they were not leſs heirs to Plat. in Hipparch. "their father's virtue and wiſdom than to his throne."

Ibid. WHATEVER might be the participation in government bequeathed to the other brothers, ſtill ſuperiority of merit, as well as the rights of elderhood, placed the chief authority in Hipparchus [40]; who having, under ſuch a preceptor as Piſiſtratus, imbibed an early taſte for the polite arts, purſued them through every branch of the mechanic to the more liberal, and to the moſt exalted: he planted and walled in the Academia for the uſe and diſquiſitions of the philoſopher; he enlarged and amended the compilation of Homer's Rhapſodies, undertaken by his father; and, to awaken new emulation among the Muſes, his patronage was held forth to every ſervant of Parnaſſus; and Simonides and Anacreon were his friends. The city was a great part rebuilt, and every where adorned under his inſpection; and as the progreſs of art diſplayed itſelf in the beauteous appearance of Athens, ſo equally did ſcience ſhow its influence in the poliſhed demeanor of the Athenians.

Suid. in Hipparch. Ælian. L. 8. C. 2. Pauſan. Achaic. Plat. in Hipparch.

THE proſpects of temperate government and national tranquillity, which the growth of the fine arts and of urbanity ſo readily and ſo ſpeedily adorned, were ſoon however clouded; and happily ere the minds and manners of men were thereby ſoftened

tened and rendered pliant to the evils that threatened them. The king became a tyrant; his ſubjects were oppreſſed; reſiſtance begat further oppreſſion; till the enormities of deſpotic cruelty exceeded the ſufferance of a people who had once been free, and yet remembered their ſtate of freedom; and the firſt reſentment of wanton tyranny, from a generous and daring ſpirit, "armed," as the hiſtorian expreſſes it [41], "with the prin- "ciples and leſſon of the inſtitutions of Solon," afforded an example which rouſed the dormant ſenſe of the powers, of the rights, and of the liberties which thoſe inſtitutions held out to the citizens at large; and they bravely and ſucceſsfully aſſerted their claim to the poſſeſſion of the commonwealth of Solon.

Diod. Sic. excerpt. περὶ Ἀρετῆς.

CAN we ſuppoſe, when from the catalogue of emperors and kings ſo many are to be ſelected who began their reign with juſtice and cloſed it in tyranny—can we ſuppoſe, that for years they ſeverally concealed a depravity of mind, and from the firſt, internally acknowledged the immoral tendencies which covered their future days with ſhame and ruin? Rather am I inclined to believe, that the plenitude of power hath been the firſt cauſe of corruption; that the moſt virtuous of deſpots have, at ſome ſiniſter hour, unwarily admitted adulation, thence aſſumed arrogance, and thence (whilſt they no longer duly poiſed the ſcale of relative duties and merits) have unfeelingly regarded the wrongs or miſeries of thoſe imploring their juſtice or beneficence. "The beſt of men," ſays Herodotus [42], "may be corrupted "by power, may loſe their virtue, and even their habits of "virtue."

Herodot. Thalia.

TACITUS, in his Auguſtan hiſtory and annals, hath placed the change of manners in the ſeveral emperors of Rome, to the account of diſſimulation covering for a time the natural humour and turn of mind, which, when occaſion permitted, reſumed its

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original bent and force; the sentence "*Quæ reconderet, auctaque "promeret,*" is fresh in every reader's mind, from the quotation of an elegant writer of the present age. I cannot agree with Tacitus, and to refute him I revert to the details of character he has given us: if I could accept of any authority, I am sure it is that of Tacitus, but—to borrow a sentence of Machiavel, and I apply it not more particularly to this subject, than to every subject, and to this entire book—"I neither do think [43], nor "ever will think it a fault to support any opinion with reason- "ing, without authorities on my own part, and without con- "straint on others."—"Nero, when he first came to the throne, "was the darling of his people [44]," said the tribune Julius Flavius; "nor was any of your soldiers more faithfully at- "tached, *whilst you was deserving of our* affection;" and surely Nero *deserved* that affection, "when he considered how to effect "a general relief from all imposts and taxes, and gratify man- "kind with so noble and extensive a bounty."

Tacit. Ann. 1.

Mach. Disc. L. 6. C. 58.

Ann. 15.

Ann. 13.

But the "*vividus animus*" of Nero was not proof against the corruptive habits of despotism. Whatever Tacitus, in his refinements of penetration, may have imagined of the simulation and of the dissimulation of Tiberius; I cannot suppose but that he *meant* to reign well, when on his outset he declared to an old enemy, "wrongs done me when in a private character, I "will never revenge in the character of prince:" and when he refused all adulatory honours and undue authority, advising the servile senate "not lightly to change what had been framed in "wisdom, and sanctioned by experience; that their emperor "had burthens sufficient and sufficient power; that law was "ever weakened, when authority interposed; nor should ever "the executive power be recurred to, in cases for which the "laws had made adequate provision."

Tacit. Ann. 3.

Ibidem.

How

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How greatly the mind of Tiberius degenerated, from the æra of this ſpeech to that of his debaucheries in the iſland of Capri, I ſhould likewiſe place to the account of ſeductive power: ſo too the depravity of Caligula, who at firſt was the favourite of the people, not more on account of his birth, or of his military education, whence he received his ſirname, than from that of his ingratiating manners: nay, the youth of even the bloody Caracalla was as amiable as his maturity deteſted; ſays Spartianus, "his youth was gentle, ingenuous, complacent to his "parents, affable to their friends, ingratiating with the people, "agreeable to the ſenate." Not to enumerate further examples, and from hiſtory I could enumerate many, I will cloſe this ſubject with a fact cited by Pauſanius relative to the deſpots, whoſe hiſtory is now before us; ſays he, "Piſiſtratus, and "likewiſe his ſon Hippias, were diſtinguiſhed for philanthropy, "and their moderate uſe of power, till, on the death of Hip-"parchus, the mind of Hippias became enflamed and reſent-"ful:" Hipparchus himſelf was of the number of thoſe whoſe virtues ceded to the baneful influence of unbounded power; from a vain attempt to corrupt the morals of Harmodius, he directed his attack to the chaſtity of the young man's ſiſter; the youth enflamed with rage at the repeated inſult, told his ſtory, and intimated his deſire of revenge to his preceptor Ariſtogeiton; Ariſtogeiton ſympathiſed in his pupil's juſt reſentments, and with ardour joined in a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate Hipparchus.

Sueton. Vit. Calig.

Ælian. Spart. Vit. Carac.

Pauſan. Att.

Thucyd. L. 6. Ariſt. Pol. L. 5. C. 10. Juſtin. Hiſt. L. 2. C. 9.

We are informed that Hipparchus, three days previous to his death, ſaw a viſion, which foretold him the conſequences of his vices and injuſtice; Is it to be wondered at, that remorſe found a ſpectre for a tyrant? or that an evil conſcience ſhould ſtart at a ſhadow, and lend its fears the ſpirit of prophecy? "*Verane hæc* "*affirmare non auſim, intereſt tamen exempli ut vera videantur!*"

Herodot. Terpſich.

Plin. Epiſt.

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HARMODIUS accompliſhed his purpoſe of revenge, but fell in the conflict; Ariſtogeiton was ſeized and reſerved for the ſentence of Hippias, brother and ſucceſſor to the deceaſed king: to every queſtion, even when on the rack, he anſwered with the moſt determined fortitude; and being aſked by the incenſed monarch the names of his accomplices in the conſpiracy, he directed his revenge to the moſt faithful adherents of the tyrant, and by firmly and invariably recording his deareſt inmates in the accuſation [45], blackened every future hour with horror and ſuſpicion.

Juſtin. L. 2. C. 9.

THE connection of Ariſtogeiton and Harmodius, of the old man and of the young, or (as the Greeks termed them) of the lover [46] and the beloved, is ſo well known, and yet has been ſo often, and ſo much miſconſtrued, that a ſhort digreſſion on the ſubject may not improperly be introduced into this eſſay. That ſuch connections were univerſally in practice we have the authority of all antiquity to prove; in many of the moſt virtuous republics, and particularly in Sparta, it was infamous for a youth not to be the object of affection to ſome one of maturer age; and yet Ælian tells us, that "if ſuch intercourſe were "polluted, exile and even death were the penalties of the of-"fence:" nor was the ſenſe of criminality confined to Sparta; the general abhorrence thereof is expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms by the divine Plato, in his firſt book of laws; and Solon in the Athenian code adjudged the convict to death without alternative. But had we not theſe and many other authorities for the purity of theſe attachments; were we not told of the chaſte predilection of Solon for Piſiſtratus, of Socrates for Alcibiades, of Dion for Plato, and of many other great men for ſome young pupil or follower; could we yet ſuppoſe (and ſome have ſuppoſed) that theſe friendſhips were ever ſullied with immorality, and that mere cuſtom, in a word, could give the moſt horrid and

Plut. Vit. Lycurgo. Ælian. L. 3. Cap. 10.

Ibid. L. 3. C. 12.

Plato de Leg. L. 1. Æſchin. Orat. in Timarch.

Diog. Laert. Vit. Solon. Plat. Alcib. ejuſd. Sympoſ. Corn. Nep. Vit. Alcib. Xenoph. Symp. C. 8. Ælian. L. 4. C. 21.

diſguſtful vice a preference over the deareſt and moſt neceſſary inſtinct of nature ? CHAP. VII.

I AM perſuaded that the prohibition of the connection of ſlaves with boys, merely alluded to the particular but pure amity above deſcribed, and was ſuggeſted from the idea of advantages enſuing ſuch correſpondence, advantages of inſtruction and liberal document, which the young domeſtics could not *generally* imbibe, but to the prejudice of that humility ſo neceſſary to ſervitude, in a ſtate wherein the ſlaves ſo much out-numbered the citizens. This aſſumption of principle is warranted from analogy ; Plato, in his Sympoſion, wherein the ſubject of theſe attachments is beautifully and morally diſcuſſed, mentions that the connections alluded to, were ſtrictly forbidden within the provinces of the Perſian king ; not that the purity of Aſiatic manners was ſhocked at the apprehenſion of a vicious intercourſe, but, in the words of Plato [47], " It is on account of " the deſpotic ſyſtem of government, that a communion of phi- " loſophy and gymnaſtic exerciſe is degraded or proſcribed in " theſe countries ; whilſt it is deemed inexpedient to the go- " verning power, that the governed ſhould become endowed " with elevated ſentiments, or acquire the force which might " reſult from virtuous union and attachment." What happy preſages might each Grecian patriot entertain of the advancement of ſtrength, of wiſdom, and of virtue within his republic, whilſt each younger denizen was inſtructed by the conduct and counſels of ſome adopted father, who was to inſtil into him the love of virtue, and of his country, then bleſs his work, and exultingly live over again in the public and moral merits of his pupil !

Plutarch. Diſſ. Erot. Id. in Vit. Lycurg.

Platon. Sympoſ.

IT was by direction of their legiſlator, that in the gymnaſia of Sparta, the older men attended to the progreſs of the youth in the

Ælian. L. 3. C. 10. Plut. Vit. Lycurg.

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the different ſtages of education, inſtructed them in martial exerciſes, and ſharpened their wits by ſubtile queſtion, till the laconic reply became as proverbial as Spartan diſcipline: that each veteran ſhould fix his predilection on ſome meritorious young man, as fit object of his excluſive care and tuition, was no extraordinary effect of the inſtitution; and the maxims of ſtate wiſely authorized and directed too the partiality; for favour too generally diffuſed loſes that energy of affection, which might give greater zeal to each elevated mind, when forming the mind of another conſentaneous to itſelf, and thence expectant too equally of gratitude and glory. From the ſchool of Lycurgus, without the letter of inſtitution, much of its ſpirit diffuſed itſelf throughout Greece, and the band of lovers under Pelopidas, was not the only band which diſplayed a reciprocative regard and emulation, on occaſions wherein the cauſe of liberty and their country were benefited by their friendly union and exertions. The young man would bravely fall ere diſgrace the leſſons of his martial tutor; the old man would die rather than diſplay [48] an example inferior to his documents: the attachment concentered the ſtrength of two in one; to deſert, were to betray another ſelf! Nor, warfare apart, was the connection of indifferent uſe to ſociety within the pale of the commonwealth: nothing more conduces to vice than the too general commerce of the young with the young; reaſon in ſuch ſociety is deafened by clamour, loſt in impetuoſity, or ſubdued by paſſion, nor doth it reſiſt the uſurpation, whilſt in example it finds a ready palliative to the ſufferance: but the intercourſe of thoſe of different ages in life, meliorates the characters of either, tempering the moroſeneſs of age and petulance of youth.

At a ſubſequent æra, when with the growth of public dominion and wealth, individual power and opulence keeping pace became unduly prevalent, and when the force of the laws became

came weakened in proportion to the enormities that called for their ſtricter execution, I cannot but allow that this inſtitution was in ſome inſtances perverted; but it ever ſhould be held diſtinct from practices which were repugnant to every inſtitution, and to every code of legiſlation, notwithſtanding their frequency, as intimated by the ancient philoſophers, orators, and poets.

Xenoph. Sympoſ. Platon. Alcib. Dial. Plut. Diſſ. Erot. Æſchin. Orat. cont. Timarch. Theocrit. &c.

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OF THE FINAL EXPULSION OF THE PISISTRATIDÆ—OF POPULAR GOVERNMENTS—OF THE OSTRACISM.

Herodot. Terpſich.

AS the conduct of the two former kings had ſerved to promote a love of order, and a habit of poliſhed demeanor, calculated to obviate all danger of licentiouſneſs or anarchy, ſhould a ſtate of liberty enſue; ſo did the odious tyranny of their ſucceſſor make that liberty the darling wiſh of every Athenian.

Pauſan. Att.

INCENSED at the aſſaſſination of his brother, and alarmed by the informations of Ariſtogeiton, Hippias ſhowed vengeance the bloodieſt paths of cruelty; and as ſuſpicion found him objects, remorſe envenomed, and practice hardened his mind to a familiarity with the horrideſt ſcenes of maſſacre and oppreſſion. His ſubjects were vexed with new and accumulating impoſts, and every citizen's competency was drained, and his neceſſities poſtponed to the luxuries and exceſs of a vicious court; whilſt each noble, eminent for wealth or merit, hourly was in danger of falling a victim to the fears of the deſpot, or to the avarice of his adherents: many, under theſe circumſtances, voluntarily left their native country, and many were driven into baniſhment, to pamper the creatures of the palace with confiſcations.

Herodot. Terpſich.

EVERY paſſion united to urge theſe exiles to a recovery of their loſt fortunes and country; and a connection of one of the families proſcribed, with the Pythian prieſteſs, happily ſuggeſted the means of ſucceſs: this miniſter of the oracle, at their inſtigation, intereſted the Lacedæmonians in the enfranchiſement of their

their city; conſtantly replying to each queſtion of religion or ſtate, with a previous injunction to deliver Athens from tyranny. Whether from the ambitious deſire of ſome pretence to get footing on the other ſide the iſthmus, or from other political, or perhaps from really religious motives, the Spartans promiſed the aſſiſtance required, and accordingly ſent an army, but of ſmall force, which was worſted by Hippias and his auxiliaries. CHAP. VIII.

No longer was the enterprize directed by the meek efforts of generous piety; national pride was concerned; the Spartans felt the indignity of the repulſe, and to efface all memory of the defeat, repeated the attack with redoubled force, and ſent their king Cleomenes to lead and enſure ſucceſs to the expedition: fortunately his troops intercepted the children and family of Hippias attempting to evade the dangers of the ſiege, nor would they deliver up theſe precious hoſtages to the king, but on the condition of his immediately ſurrendering the citadel, and abdicating the ſovereignty. Thus was Athens freed from the uſurping family of Piſiſtratus. Pauſan. in Lacon. Herodot. Terpſich.

Cliſthenes, who was a chief agent in the revolution, gained great credit thereby with his countrymen; and on his return, riveting the affections of his fellow-citizens, and particularly of the lower claſſes, by a ſpecious diſplay of moderation and ability, he ſought yet to ſtrengthen his authority, by introducing new political regulations, which encreaſing at the ſame time the power of the people and his popularity, might give him force wherewith to cruſh the factions of other great men, and particularly of his rival Iſagoras: thus he inſtituted the judicature of the Oſtraciſm, which rendered the pretenſions of every diſtinguiſhed character nugatory and ſelf-dangerous, who had not (as himſelf then had) the ear of the people: to that people too he gave further weight and influence in the government, by Ibid. Ælian. L. 13. C. 24.

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encreaſing the number of tribes from four to ten; and the ſenate from four to five hundred, fifty being thenceforward to be elected from each tribe, inſtead of the one hundred ſenators from each of the ancient four. Herodotus expreſsly mentions [49] the additional power reſulting from theſe regulations to the citizens at large; but hath left us to ſurmiſe, "of what nature, "and in what degree was its effect:" the enlarging the number of tribes muſt have rendered more numerous the Phylarchs, and other public offices, and thus have extended the patronage of the commonalty, and the diſtinctions and emolument of place; further, the tribes being more numerous, in all public buſineſs tranſacted by tribes, opulence and private connection might have leſs ſway, and particularly as among the *Thetes*, or laſt claſs of citizens in each tribe, Cliſthenes had procured the enrollment of many aliens, foreigners, and even ſlaves: thus the ariſtocracy were borne down by numbers, and the favourite of the people had alone authority in the commonwealth. Cliſthenes now had the multitude at his diſpoſal, and, dazzled with the opening proſpect of power, ſought to abuſe the aſcendancy thus acquired with the people, and to make them the inſtruments of uſurpation, as Piſiſtratus had done before him. On ſtretching his hand out to the ſceptre, it however met a competitor for the graſp: Iſagoras revived the oppoſition to the family of Megacles, of which Cliſthenes was a lineal deſcendant; and on the faith of foreign aſſiſtance, he too put in a claim to the throne: during the prior expedition, the Spartan leader had been his gueſt, and in ancient times ſuch hoſpitality was ever after a plea for favour or aſſiſtance, ſtrong as the feelings of a long and approved friendſhip. Cleomenes gave a ready ear to the entreaties of his hoſt, and immediately turning his arms towards Athens, expelled Cliſthenes and his party; and having purſued them beyond the boundaries of the country, returned to maſter the city, and model its conſtitution and ſtate to the will and pleaſure of

Herodot. ed. Gronov. p. 309.

Ariſtot. Pol. L. 3. C. 1.

Herod. Terpſich.

Pauſan. Lacon.

of Iſagoras; but the Athenians had favoured the momentary taſte of liberty, and were already become too high-minded to tamely yield their necks to the yoke they had ſo lately ſhaken off; indignant at the renewed attack, they united to repreſs the Spartan invaſion, and to puniſh the few unworthy citizens who had joined in the attempt on the public liberties and welfare ſo hardily and ſo happily recovered.

Herodot. Terpſich.

CLEOMENES and his forces quickly gave way to the impetuous ſpirit of men who had newly regained their freedom: forced into the citadel, he for a while relied on the ſtrength of the place; but finally the determined valour and aſſiduity of the beſiegers enforced a capitulation. The Lacedemonians were diſmiſſed in ſafety; but the Athenian delinquents were to a man put to death, — a propitious ſacrifice to the aſcendant day-ſtar of liberty! — The example was efficacious: Cliſthenes returning from his exile, coincided with the ſpirit and views of his countrymen, and all with emulative ardour abetted the re-eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth of Solon; admitting therein the Oſtraciſtic judicature; and the encreaſed number of tribes, and in ſenate, as before mentioned.

ERE I enter upon the career of glory and aggrandiſement that diſtinguiſhed the hiſtory of Athens, I muſt once more reſume the ſubject of their conſtitution of government, as far as it ſeemed replete with cauſes tending to ſo great an effect. Thoſe who object to the great powers thereby veſted in the aſſemblies of the people, would probably ſay, "Who ought to command, "and to confer the powers of command, but the choſen few, "whoſe rank and opulence have afforded the means of educa-"tion, whoſe powers of intelligence and diſcrimination are im-"proved and free, and whoſe capacity, exerciſed in varieties of "private affairs and of ſelf-conduct, ſeems ſo ſuited to regulate

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" the conduct of others? Shall we indiscriminately trust our " fortunes to the indigent, our honours to the mean, or our " private happiness and the public weal to an ignorant multi- " tude, whose ears lead but to their passions, affording a ready " road to the rhetorical agent of domestic treasons, or of foreign " interests?" To such I answer,—" You have built truly your fairy castle, and would now brutify each inhabitant of the domain with all the whimsical severity of a magician in a romance! The intellects of mankind are originally of a much nearer equality than you are willing to suppose: the diversities whence you are about to deduce the argument of this specious declamation proceed from the casualties around you;—to suddenly form a democratic body of the heterogeneous mass you have in view, were absurd indeed; but the absurdity is the creature of your own brain. When you again examine the merits of this form of government, candidly reject such misleading premises; consider the democratic branch of government, as well modified by cautionary combinations, duly curbed by law, accurately bounded by institutions, and well framed on the best principles, and well established on the happiest practice. With equality of power, as far as policy *should* concede, suppose equality of mind as far as nature *will* admit, unassisted by other adscititious advantages, than such as are open to a whole people; every argument respecting their insufficiency will in such case fall to the ground, for these advantages are not less great than general. May not a constant attention to public affairs form the minds of many, as of one, to a versatility and penetration fitted to all the varieties and difficulties of business? or, without being statesmen or generals, may not very many learn well to judge of statesmen and generals?—and this is all that is necessary; whilst merit will have thus the means of forcing its way to office, through public notice and estimation; and on such ought its sole claim to rest. But you intimate the subserviency

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ſerviency of a popular audience to every fallacy of an artful orator! And do you really then think, that an aſſembly daily accuſtomed to all the artifice and force of harangue, is to be claſſed with a modern croud, opening wide their eyes, and mouths too, to the declaimer, as if ignorant from which ſenſe to receive the novel taſte of eloquence? "But may not the plea lay to "the paſſions?" Yes, to thoſe of fame and public ſpirit; to emotions of glory and patriotiſm;—theſe in a learned and free ſtate (and a free ſtate will be a learned one), are the only paſſions open to the orator: if he hath a hold on more partial intereſts and feelings, the people are no longer virtuous, and cannot long be free:—our preſent conſideration is of a people virtuous, as free.

I WILL not further dwell on ſuperficial or wanton objections to the rights, to the judgment, to the voice of the people; objections founded in mere exceptions to the good ſenſe of mankind.

ISOCRATES juſtly places the vigour [50] and renown of the Spartan government to the account of ſuch of its inſtitutions as were popular or democratic. There is ever a national ſpirit [51] ſpringing from the broad latitude of competition which a free commonwealth allows of, that is ſuited to engage in, and to ſuſtain, either a firm or an active part, as there ſhall be occaſion of reſiſtance or of enterprize. Much might be urged on this general topic; but I particularly inſiſt on the great advantages accruing from the election to offices of ſtate, and to command of the armies, laying within the immediate ſuffrage and choice of the people: whilſt virtuous, ſuch was the ſource of the elevation; though when corrupt and vicious, ſuch was the ſource of the ruin of the Athenian republic. Says Xenophon [52], "as "are the leaders, ſo is the republic:" the inverſe is equally true, —"that

Iſocrat. Orat. Areopag.

Xenoph. περὶ πρασσων. C. 1

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— "that as is the republic, pure or corrupt, ſo will be its "leaders."

L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 2. C. 2.

If a general [53] is to be choſen, the people well know whether any one among them has often ſerved in war, whether he has filled the gradations of command, and whether he has been brave, judicious, enterprizing, and ſucceſsful: if a judge is to be elected, the people know whether another has been an able and diſintereſted advocate, has been candid when on the wrong ſide, and has been firm when on that of truth and juſtice: is a quæſtor, or officer of revenue to be appointed? Integrity, attention, and method, extend the character of another man from the ſmaller circle of his friends, to the converſations and to the confidence of the community at large. Having theſe inlets to a juſt eſtimation of characters, which no palace, I think, ever had, or ever can have, in equal degree; it remains to conſider the probable account to which they may be turned by popular aſſemblies; ſtill under the aſſumption, that they are incorrupt as free. Conſidering the ſubject in this point of view, when I anticipate its extent, and the diffuſive argument which might ſwell into a compendious treatiſe,—on the paſſions and force of reaſon in men; on their individual intereſts; on thoſe intereſts being compriſed in a ſocial ſyſtem, and on the ſentiment thereof becoming prevalent, where the individual intereſts, being too numerous to exiſt ſeparately, become therefore more united; on the ſenſe of ſafety, and on the opinion of protection; on the hopes of eſtimation, and thence on the favour to juſt objects of eſteem; and on various other ſprings and motives to choice, which to properly elucidate, demand a laborious reſearch into the deepeſt receſſes of ethics and of policy: when I conſider this, I am rather inclined to reſort to examples and authorities, and briefly obſerve, what a glorious, what an immaculate ſeries of ſplendid characters graced the Roman conſulſhip from popular

Ibid.

Mach. Diſc. L. 1. C. 58.

 ſuffrage!

ſuffrage! Under ſimilar mode of choice, what tranſcendant examples of wiſdom, probity, and valour iſſued forth from Carthage; nay, from every petty commonwealth in Sicilia and Apulia, from Drepanon to Metapontum! what characters ſignalized the elections throughout Greece! and, finally, what great, virtuous, and able men ſtept ſucceſſively into the field of renown, during nearly a century, ſent forth by the aſſemblies of Athens!

PERHAPS too the very exertions and conſequent ſucceſs of theſe generals and admirals of the people are to be placed to the like account of the conſtitution of government: Their power and command were the reſult of public eſtimation, and its duration depended thereon: they had thus the people to ſatisfy and to conciliate, and often their period of office allowed but a ſhort time to conciliate them; to gain the favour of their fellow-citizens, they thence preſſed on each moment of their employ for new occaſions of ſignalizing themſelves, urged enterprize on enterprize, and the final reſult was conqueſt and dominion for their ſovereigns, the republic.

Grand. & Decad. des Rom. par Monteſquieu.

HAVING thus curſorily pointed out the tendency of the commonwealth to encreaſe of empire and glory, I venture further; and (a warm advocate for the liberties of mankind, liberties which political inſtitution ought not wantonly to corrode or amputate, but medicate with the tendereſt hand) I aſſert, that the free ſtate of Athens, in the high perfection of its eſtabliſhment, was the ſtate the beſt calculated for general happineſs, and that any true and good objection to it is founded, not on the immediate vices of ſuch conſtitution of government, but in the preſumptive [54] *brevity of its career.*

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In ſuch ſtate, the primary authority is reſident in the many; but of force, the executive power muſt be delegated to the few; the *firſt* is in the hands of the people, whoſe will being once determined and promulgated, neceſſity from day to day more rarely calls for their interpoſition; the *ſecond*, entruſted to their agents, requires unremitted exertion; as the one power becomes dormant, the latter encreaſes in vigilance; till at length the importance of the ſtate yields to the conſequence of private men, and the ſervant of the public directs the legiſlation he ſhould obey; whilſt the individual, acquiring influence from the magiſtracy, reciprocally communicates that aſcendancy to his office: thus gradually the conſtitutional balance is loſt; and the commonwealth, whatever of its laws or exterior forms it may for a while retain, hath deviated from the ſpirit of its ſyſtem, and which conſtituted at once its vigour and conſiſtency; which at once gave to the ſtate moderation and force, at once enſured to the community peace and virtue at home, and conſequence and victory abroad.

Machiavel obſerves [55], in the firſt chapter of the third book of his Diſcourſes, "that the moſt perfect political arrangement is *that* which hath ſomething in its eſſence fitted to obviate the diſſolution of the ſtate, by occaſionally recalling it to the firſt principles of its inſtitution." Of this advantage a popular conſtitution of government ſeems incapable. When once ſuch ſtate is affected, the diſeaſe is not in the head that plans, or heart that wills, or hand that executes; the whole maſs is generally diſordered, nor is there a ſound part through which the blood may return in a purer ſtate to medicate the more corrupted; the peſtilence ſpreads through the whole body at once, and with that progreſſive and ſure venom pervades to the very vitals of the conſtitution, that to attempt a cure were vain: to ward off the infection, or to obviate antidotes to the firſt

firſt poiſon of it, may not be ſo forlorn a hope. In a mixed ſtate, or limited monarchy, it is from the vitiated morals of its conſtituents, that government becomes infected: in a republic of which the democracy forms a leading power, the diſorder originates in government; for the people muſt become idle, to become vicious; and muſt firſt loſe attention to the commonwealth, to have leiſure for diſſoluteneſs and ruin in their private capacities: the depravity then re-operates, and the ſtate-ſyſtem once relaxed is broken or diſſolved by the evils which its firſt loſs of energy occaſioned,—at the æra when the ſpirit of policy and legiſlation became lulled and torpid, perhaps during times of long and uninterrupted peace; or when, under the preſſure of general calamity, it yielded up the ſenſe of public duties to a confidence in, or to the influence of certain reſplendent characters, too much, too long, and too highly elevated in the executive truſts of government.

KNOWING then to what evil, and to what part the preventative ſhould be directed, is there a panacea of ſufficient efficacy to enſure ſucceſs? Surely not! perhaps the moſt promiſing was the ſpecies of exile adopted in various republics of yore;—the Petaliſm of Argos and Syracuſe; the *Oſtraciſm* [56] of Athens.

Diod. Sic. L. 11. Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

WHAT ingratitude, to proſcribe the virtue that hath long laboured for the public weal! What folly, to baniſh the man whoſe abilities might be, as they have been the ſupport of the ſtate! What ill policy, to ſend to foreign climes at once ſo uſeful a friend, and ſo dangerous an enemy!—Such are objections which occur on the immediate and firſt view of the ſubject; but they muſt as quickly yield to the ſtronger reaſons in favour of the inſtitution.

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It from time to time ſnatched a dangerous prop from their affairs, and bade the people awaken to their own ſupport and welfare; it made men wary of pre-eminence, and often taking ſomewhat from the ever-growing matter of the executive ſcale, anew balanced the commonwealth.

Public protection implies particular ſubmiſſion, and he who ſubſcribes to fixed ordinances or laws, by ſeeking ſecurity under their ſhelter, hath no right to deprecate their penalties or precautions.

No character, in a free and equal community, can be of ſufficient eminence to ſuperſede the intereſts of ſtate, without danger that at ſome ſiniſter period, thoſe intereſts may be ſacrificed to ſome partial or ſelf-conſideration: inaſmuch as the whole outweighs the part, it is proper therefore to have the maxim ever in view, "that individual concerns ſhould cede to general "welfare, and that a citizen pays but a juſt debt to his country, "were even life the demand."

But is not the ſeceſſion of the old ſtateſman or experienced veteran, fraught with politics and diſcipline, a loſs to his country? and if a reſentful exile, may he not prove an acceſſion to its enemies [57]?

With reſpect to the pretended ability and knowledge, the ſuperiority is more dangerous than uſeful; in a wholeſome republic (and we are not now diſcuſſing the ſubject of one corrupted) a ſound and plain underſtanding is the moſt faithful, and ſurely an adequate, guide in the ſtraight road of virtuous adminiſtration; and whoever talks of the neceſſarily difficult and crooked paths of government, is to be ſuſpected of meaning treachery on the way, and is to be guarded againſt, as one deſirous

rous of bewildering thoſe he is hired to direct, that his inſufficiency may be leſs apparent, or treaſons more ſecure. CHAP. VIII.

THAT the Oſtraciſm might appear to ſome, and might ſometimes be an unmerited perſecution; and that, in the bitterneſs of reſentment and diſguſt, an alienation of good-will might attend a good man on his departure from the commonwealth, was to be apprehended: every circumſtance was ſtudied therefore to mitigate the evil; property was preſerved and remitted during the baniſhment; its time was limited; and the very exile was honour.

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OF GOVERNMENTS—OF THE ENERGY OF A NEWLY-FORMED REPUBLIC—OF THE PROGRESS OF ATHENS.

THE diſtinctions or authorities on which man founds his claim to dominion over other creatures were of little moment, had he not the means of enforcing ſubjection and obedience: for this power he relies not on the firm texture of bone or of ſinew; his ſtrength depends not on the frame of his body, but on the etherial ſpirit which animates it, on free volition exerciſing intellect, and reciprocally [58] intellect tutoring choice, till from the joint activity reſult force of thought, ingenuity, foreſight, and courage; which latter is no other than ſelf-confidence, deduced from the prior acquiſitions.

THE more the mind is practiſed in this internal, or home-education, the more varieties are left to its deliberation and to its choice, the more elevated and perfect will it become; and the greater ſuperiority [59] will it give over all other animals, whoſe faculties being confined to fixed and particular limits, are not able to cope with thoſe who can indefinitely encreaſe their own, or command extraneous forces, to maſter in contention, or to aſſert in ſovereignty.

THE ſame circumſtances which diſtinguiſh man, and make all other creatures abject ſlaves to his appetite and pleaſures, occaſion too a difference in the ſame ſpecies; and relatively exalt an individual, and even a whole people, in proportion as mental advantages ſhall have been their reſpective lot.

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In a deſpotic government, ſuppoſing even the adminiſtration to be juſt and wiſe, ſtill muſt an inferiority in the point alluded to, be unavoidable; whilſt the higher claſs grow enervate in over-abundance, and the poorer multitude are depreſſed to a mere communion with the glebe; the minds of ſuch ſociety cannot improve by the wholeſome education of general exigency working with general liberty; and long as the ſucceſs of the number reſts on the quality of its conſtituents, the Tartar will dethrone the Chineſe, the ſavage will conquer the peaſant, the free man the ſlave.

As the genius and ſpirit of men become torpid, or loſt as it were, under the uncontroulable command of one, it is natural to ſuppoſe that an oppoſite arrangement will be of uſe to them, and that they will become ſuperior by aſſociating in ſuch manner, as leaſt to coerce the freedom of will, or hebetate by diſuſe the powers of mind in each individual; and a republic will moſt effectually anſwer this important purpoſe, the conſtitution of which favours the equality and independance of each, as far as may be compatible with the ſafety and union of all; of this let the Athenians be my example: "they (ſays Herodotus) [60] "when under the controul of their kings, were of no account "in Greece, but immediately on the ſubverſion of the dynaſty, "they became great, and by far greater, than the people which "had hitherto held them in ſo little eſtimation." Herodot. Terpſich.

It may perhaps be obſerved that this change appears too ſudden, to agree with the previous theory; that the Athenians ſeem rather inſpired than taught; rather elevated by ſome inſtantaneous than chronical advantage; for they appear to have anticipated all the progreſſive wiſdom of council on the firſt emergency, and all the energy of action in their firſt enterprize. Let it be remembered, that this people had been meliorated by viciſſitude,

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viciſſitude, and the ſalutary leſſon of tranſient evil, rather than benumbed by the oppreſſion of a long tyranny; that ſome were even ſufficiently aged to remember [61] the prior times of liberty, and joyfully acknowledge the ſtar, which brightened the evening of their day, to have been the ſame which gave glory to its birth; many had paſſed in exile the interval of uſurpation; and all had ſome particle of the ſpirit of their forefathers yet left—ſome tale to tell of the miſeries of ſlavery, and of the bleſſings of freedom—ſome hereditary reaſoning on private rights and public duties. To this, be it added, that the firſt outſet of a republic is ever marked with peculiar force and vigour: as the limbs newly unſhackled, ſo the mind liberated from the weight of imperious coercion ſprings with freſh elaſticity and ardour to every object of activity: the people look up to their new compact; the ſentiment [62] precedes the principles of freemen, and they firſt ſupport, they know not why, what they afterwards find every reaſon to ſupport: the ſpark of patriotiſm firſt catches, or rather electrically pervades the whole band; nor prematurely fails, but retains its light and heat till progreſſive virtue, wiſdom, and felicity give it ſubſtance to feed on and extend itſelf.

THE Spartans, when they liſtened to the advice of the oracle, and freed Athens from the deſpotiſm of the family of Piſiſtratus, perhaps were actuated by religion; or perhaps, and more probably, were influenced by ſome political motive: that ſelfiſh ſtate (for ſelfiſh we ſhall find it throughout the whole courſe of Grecian hiſtory, and the character may be deduced from its inſtitutions) was never moved by principles of philanthropy, or ſatisfied with the ſentiment of diſintereſted protection.

Herodot. Terpſich.

IT is to be preſumed that ſome error in policy occaſioned their ready compliance with the injunctions of the Pythian prieſteſs;

for ſoon as they ſaw the tendency of the exploit, ſoon as they found that freedom was a gift incompatible with retribution, that this ſingular preſent placed the obliged at a diſtance from the donor, and admitted not of the ordinary forms of ſubmiſſive acknowledgment; they ſeem to have repented of their haſty interpoſition, and of having adopted a meaſure, which they too late perceived, inſtead of rendering the Athenian people ſubordinate from gratitude to them—or weak from diviſions among themſelves—had raiſed a ſpirit of union and ſelf-confidence which portended rivalſhip of character and dominion: and be it remarked, that when Cleomenes again unſheathed the ſword, no reverence of the will of heaven with-held his hand from annoying the people he had been ordered to ſuccour and ſave.

THE reſult of the late attempt on the liberties of Athens, in favour of the pretenſions of Iſagoras, ſerved but to irritate the haughty ſpirit of the Lacedæmonians; and the diſmiſſion of the priſoners, inſtead of allaying their reſentment, ſharpened it with the ſenſe of ſhame: ſuch obligation admits no medium of gratitude; if it enſures not friendſhip, it enflames enmity. Cleomenes was now gathering together a mighty force; and other more neighbouring powers too ſought to take advantage of the new and unſettled ſtate of the republic, and, looking upon its wealth and territories as an eaſy prey, to join in the invaſion and to participate the pillage.

THE Athenians ſaw, and prepared for the impending ſtorm; every where they ſought aſſiſtance, and even ſent to the Perſian to proffer their friendſhip and alliance, and aſk an honourable and free ſupport in this their diſtreſs: the great king queſtioned with ſurprize the miniſters of this new people; and finally obſerved, that it became them better to talk of homage, than of equal amity before the lord of Aſia; that he might be induced Herodot. Terpſich.

to

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to protect them as vaſſals, but could not deign to ſerve them as allies: the ambaſſadors unwarily condeſcended to promiſe the offering of "earth and water," the abject acknowledgment required: on their return to Athens their conduct was cenſured, and the terms of aſſiſtance unanimouſly rejected.

Valer. Max. L. 6. C. 3.

THE Bœotians had now penetrated into Attica on one ſide; the Chalcidenſes were depopulating the coaſts; and the Spartan army, compoſed of the chief youth of the ſtate, and inſpirited by the preſence of their two kings, had paſſed the iſthmus.

Herodot. Terpſich.

THE Athenians, contemning a merely defenſive part, marched from their city, and prepared to aſſault the enemy with vigour: the numbers, diſcipline, and valour of the Spartans demanded their firſt attention, and to them they directed their firſt onſet. The Spartans awaited not the attack; their kings Cleomenes and Demaratus differing with reſpect to the invaſion, or to the conduct of it, the diſſention ſo infected the whole army, that it was not thought expedient, in ſuch divided ſtate, to truſt a battle, and they and their allies precipitately withdrew to their reſpective homes; and left the Athenians at liberty to repel the Bœotians, and to attack Chalcis; both of which expeditions were crowned with ſucceſs, and Athens grew up in renown and conſequence.

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CHAP. X.

OF LIBERTY—OF COLONIES—OF THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF ATHENS.

CIVIL liberty [63] conſiſts in the ſecure poſſeſſion of particular rights, ſtation, and property, not to be affected but by the act of the individual who poſſeſſes them, or on the other hand without infringement of ſome political inſtitution, tending to a diſſolution of the ſtate which aſcertains and enſures them. When a form of government circumſcribes the latitude of conceſſion to its ſubjects of equal rights and participation, *civil liberty is confined*; when its policy and laws are inadequate to regular adminiſtration, *civil liberty is inſecure*. The pretenſions of a juſt and wiſe legiſlation are, ſo to meaſure out its proportions of benefit and ſecurity, and ſo to temper public force with individual happineſs and eaſe, as to leave as little controul for the free-ſpirited, and as little licentiouſneſs for the man of a quiet and homely turn to make the ſubject of anxiety, as are compatible with each other, and as abſolute neceſſity requires.

MEN of an improved genius and capacity will yet ſometimes puſh their idea of polity to a refinement, calculated to diſguſt them with any inſtitution they may be born ſubject to; and men too, in the extremities of an hot and active, or of a peaceable and domeſtic ſpirit, will find wherewithal to colour their ſituation with diſcontent, and deprecate the coercion or freedom of a political conſtitution, reſpectively as they are ſuited to enterprize or quiet,—to the forum of Rome, or farm at Tibur.

IT is certain that no diſſatisfaction with the laws and government of his country, whilſt adminiſtered according to the ſpi-

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rit of the inſtitution, can authoriſe an individual to plot innovations, ever pregnant with danger to the whole community; and that the neceſſity muſt be very obvious and preſſing, and the authority of very many muſt aſſent, to make any plea for commotion expedient or juſt.

But happineſs, it will be ſaid, is the great end of all political [64] ordonnance or arrangement; that ſtates may not be of the beſt inſtitution, or that even thoſe of the beſt may have deviated from their firſt principle: and ſurely it is equally hard for a poliſhed and wiſe man to be aggrieved by the errors of a ſavage anceſtor; or to ſtand with his head under a ruin, becauſe in a better ſtate it had been a comfortable habitation to his forefathers. This reaſoning will have weight in every country which permits not a free egreſs from its dominion; where ſuch emigration is reſtricted [65] (I ſpeak generally and allowing for exceptions), the canon is unjuſt, and agrees not with the great axiom "*Lex eſt ſumma ratio*," for reaſon favours the contentment and good of *each*, when it interferes not with that of *any*.

That a body of men may leave their native country, and that ſo doing they withdraw themſelves from the parent ſtate, its protection and its powers, I think queſtions ſo inſeparable, that, had not a contrary mode of reaſoning been much and often enforced, I ſhould ſuppoſe the argument too obvious to render a detail neceſſary. Aſſuredly, thoſe who depart on a conditional expedition, as they are benefited, ſo are they obligated by the conditions thereof; but the voluntary exile, who ſeeks refuge in the ſtorms of the ocean, and truſts his body to foreign climes and exotic diet; who foregoes the delights of habit, and ſweets of long connection; who flies from ſo many attachments to ſo much danger; flies not from diſlike to his paternal glebe, or habitual ſociety; it is from want, or it is from diſtreſſes which affect

affect the mind more than want; or it is from ſuppoſed or real grievance of ſubjection that he eſcapes; and if the imperious ſway is to purſue him to his retreat, with all its diſtreins on property, and controul of perſon, the permiſſion to quit the ſhore is at beſt trivial and inſulting. CHAP. X.

THE colony embarking for a region of fixed and regulated ſociety, of courſe muſt acquieſce in the previous compact; but landing on a yet unappropriated ſpot, have ſurely as juſt a right to adopt the ſyſtem of aſſociation their prejudices or wiſdom may ſuggeſt.

THIS was the reaſoning of old, and was ſupported by the demeanor of the ancient republics towards the various ſettlements formed in diſtant parts, by their diſguſted or neceſſitous citizens; for neceſſity, or from over-population, or from other caſualties incident to ſociety, might often, and perhaps moſt frequently, occaſion many to ſeek other fortunes, and another country. Yet was not the ancient connection wholly loſt ſight of: — the ſentiment of affinity, ſimilarity of language, of religion, and, in great degree, of political inſtitutions, muſt ever in ſuch caſe lead nations to an intercourſe, to ſupport which, commerce and alliance ſtep in as coadjutors; and in all times of exigency and danger affecting the mother country or colony, a reciprocative plea for ſupport and aſſiſtance exiſts on ſtronger, or at leaſt on better grounds than thoſe of mere ſovereignty and ſubjection; grounds framed and cemented by the united feelings and intereſts of mankind.

IT was from ſuch ſources, and from ſuch ſenſe of national attachment, that originated the Perſian wars.

CHAP. X.

IT hath been obſerved in a former chapter, that Athens had early become ſo populous, as to neceſſitate the departure of its ſupernumerary citizens for other countries. Ionia was a name common to Attica; the emigrants firſt ſeized and gave that appellation to the diſtrict of Aigialeia, where having long ſtood the brunt of war for a ſettlement, finally they were routed and driven back to their native country by the Æoles and Achæi; thence again they iſſued forth, and ſettled on the coaſts of Caria and its vicinities, where they built twelve cities, and eſtabliſhed as many independant commonwealths. The early hiſtory of theſe republics is loſt, poſſibly with the ſixth book of Diodorus; or probably was not particularized by any author we now poſſeſs, as the firſt mention thereof by Herodotus curſorily touches on the conqueſt of them by Crœſus, and their being by him annexed to the kingdom of Lydia: with Lydia they fell into the hands of the Perſian: ſtill, however, they were mindful of their origin, and the commonwealths of their parent Greece, newly liberated from their ſeveral dynaſties, inſtilled a ſentiment of emulation and indignant ſhame, which at a favourable criſis might have given birth to a revolution.

Chap. 3. Strabo, L. 8.

Herodot. Clio.

MILTIADES of Athens, who had newly thence led a colony to the Cherſoneſe, judged that criſis to be arrived: Darius, with all the chiefs and beſt youth of Aſia, were employed in the conqueſt of Scythia; to facilitate the expedition, with great labour and art a bridge had been effected over the Danube, and thither the army was now directing its retreat from the ſnows and famine of the North. The paſs was guarded but by a ſmall detachment, and Miltiades propoſed to the chiefs of the Greek ſettlements to maſter the guard, and then, breaking down the bridge, to leave Darius and his troops to periſh in the colds and dearth of Scythia; and thus deſtroying at once the tyrant and the inſtruments of his tyranny, at leiſure to form ſuch political

Corn. Nep. Vit. Miltiad.

Herodot. Melpom.

Cteſias in Perſ.

eſtabliſhments as were conſonant to their ideas of juſtice, or claims to liberty. CHAP. X.

THE ariſtocracies and petty tyrants of each province felt their private intereſts claſh with this hardy propoſal; and Hiſtiæus of Miletus particularly remarking to his fellow deſpots, "that "his and their authority exiſted but in ſubordination to the "Perſian; and that nullifying the lieutenancy of his power, "they gave up their own;" the ſcheme of Miltiades met with general diſapprobation; and perceiving himſelf to be no longer of ſervice to his own, or any other colony, he returned to a private ſituation in his native Athens. Herodot. Melpom. Terpſich. ejuſd.

HE had, however, awakened the ſpirit of the Aſiatic Greeks, and left them prone to revolt, whenever the opinion of their leading men ſhould cede to the voice of the people; and ſoon they did cede, from factious and ſelfiſh paſſions, what they had denied to more generous and public views; and when the happy opportunity was paſt, engaged in a conteſt, as diſhonourable from motive, as ruinous in conſequence. Ibid.

ARISTAGORAS the Mileſian, counteracted in his views to the conqueſt of Naxos by Artabatus the Perſian general, and thus urged by reſentment to diſaffection, was the prime inſtigator of the rebellion; in conjunction with his kinſman Hiſtiæus, he aſſiſted each city in the expulſion of their Perſian governors, and joining the cry of liberty and independency, ſheltered his private enmity and weakneſs in the public cauſe of all the Grecian ſettlements on the coaſts of Aſia. Ariſtagoras, not even with theſe adherents feeling himſelf equal to a conteſt with the great king, recurred to Greece for aſſiſtance, as from the colonies to the mother country: he firſt applied to Sparta; but his declamation was ill-ſuited to the iron aſſembly of Lacedæmon; an appeal to philanthropy, Ibid.

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philanthropy, and the ſentimental claims of diſtant affinity, a tale of diſtreſs, and the conſciouſneſs of a noble kindneſs, and diſintereſted protection, were topics better ſuited to an audience that reſpected the ſofter paſſions of humanity. To Athens he next applied, and there was received with all honour and hoſpitality; ſuccour was unanimouſly voted, and quickly an armament of twenty ſail was ready to join the confederate forces of Ionia: this exertion was the more glorious on the part of Athens, as ſhe was at that very period in expectation of a powerful attack on her own people and country.

Herodot. Terpſich. Juſtin. L. 2. C 5.

Herodot. Terpſich.

CLEOMENES nurtured a rooted enmity, nor yet forewent the idea of ſubverting the republic, the ſpirited exertions of which had ſo often worſted and diſgraced him: in hopes that ſome partizans of Hippias might yet be found in Attica to give a treacherous welcome to his invaſion, he purpoſed making that tyrant the inſtrument of his vengeance; and inviting him to the Peloponneſe, promiſed to reinſtate him in the power he had been the means of depriving him of. The Achæans, and other allies of Sparta, were, however, previouſly to be conſulted; a congreſs was called; and the reſult of the debate unexpectedly proving inimical to their deſigns, overwhelmed the king and his protected fugitive with confuſion and diſappointment. Soſicles of Corinth particularly inveighed againſt the horrors and injuſtice of tyranny; reproved the rancour of Cleomenes, and chid the Lacedæmonians for favouring a ſyſtem of oppreſſion in other countries, the eſtabliſhment of which they ſo well knew the evils of, and ſo well guarded againſt, within the precincts of their own government; and in fine peremptorily told them, "they were not to expect that Corinth (whoſe delegate he was) "would further abet a ſcheme of deſpotiſm, which, in their "own ſtate, too fatal experience had fully evinced was replete "with danger and iniquity."

THE other deputies coincided with the opinion of Soſicles, and deaf to all menace or interceſſion, returned peaceably to their reſpective countries.

Juſtin. L. 2. C. 9.

HIPPIAS, fruſtrated in his views of ſuccour from the Peloponneſe, withdrew to Aſia, and availing himſelf of the reſentment borne to the Athenians, from their ſupport given to the revolted provinces, perſuaded the king to countenance his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Attica: It was at this time that the armament of the colonies attacked and burnt the city of Sardis; and Darius, exaſperated thereby, vowed vengeance againſt the Athenians for their interpoſition, and gave a readier ear to the proffers and entreaties of Hippias.

Ælian. Fragm. ap. Suid.

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OF THE FIRST PERSIAN WAR—CONDEMNATION OF MILTIADES —FURTHER THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE OSTRACISM.

Bacon's Eſſays.

UNDER certain points of view, and in a certain degree, it is a juſt axiom of lord Verulam's, *That man is, but what he knows:* the extent then of his knowledge, is that of his excellence, to the attainment of which opportunities muſt coincide with the capacity thereof; and it is not alone the primary circumſtances of birth, the peculiar rareneſs of the ſpirits, or quality of their channels, or what elſe to be acted upon by climate, or other natural contingency, that can ſingly elevate the human character; but a further and more refined combination of influences is requiſite; of influences originating not from the material, but mental world, not from the temperature of ſoil or air, or even temperament of parents; but from the pre-eſtabliſhed order of ſociety, the preſcriptive objects of its ingenuity, ſtudy, emulation, and eſteem.

THE advantages of *country* in a *phyſical* ſenſe, it will readily be granted, are not alone equivalent to thoſe of *country* under the *political* purport of the word: it yet remains for conſideration, how far theſe may agree? whether the vertical ſuns, which, according to many ancient and modern ſophiſts, are ſo favourable to a finer texture of the brain, are not oppreſſive to its further ſtrength and energy? whether quickneſs is not incompatible with ſtability? and, as man is not ſo much excellent from the gift of poſſeſſing, as from the faculty of acquiring, whether the retentive and progreſſive powers incident to thoſe born under leſs brilliant ſkies, give not, in the courſe of time and things,

things, a national ſuperiority, made and ſtrengthened by gradual and improved accumulation, which the more vivacious children of the ſun muſt ever look up to in deſpair? the moſt etherial genius born to the community, finding no previous common ſtock of method for its direction, or of knowledge for its baſis, no previous grounds of acquirement whereon to build or improve ſyſtems for the uſe of, and to further again the progreſs of poſterity? Avoiding a too long and digreſſive train of reaſoning, I leave it to the reader's ingenuity to ſeek, and ſupply theſe queries with, the proper ſolution; to deduce levity from fancy, and ignorance from inaction; to mark the paſſions born of indolence ſtifling reaſon in its birth; and then, to account—why Eaſtern genius hath gleamed in metaphor, rather than ſhone in poem;—why fancied, rather than thought in ſcience;—why originated, and not perfected menial trades, and even the finer arts;—grafting the firſt ſhoots of knowledge, why left it to others to mature the fruit;—and (touching home to the ſubject) to develope why the people of Aſia, dreading the recondite theories and active practice of republicaniſm, have ever ſought, and do ſtill ſeek ſhelter from the diſtreſs of employ, and pain of thought, under torpid ſubmiſſion to a deſpot.

MONTESQUIEU hath entered into a diſquiſition concerning phyſical effects on the conſtitution of men and ſtates: throughout the annals of mankind, I know not a period more fully demonſtrative of his theories, and of the influence of government on men, and of climate on both, than the times of conteſt betwixt Greece and Perſia. L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 17.

IF hiſtory is philoſophy teaching by example, never did it teach in a more nervous ſtrain, the leſſon of contempt for tyranny, and of love and admiration for a ſtate of freedom.

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DARIUS needed not the ſlave's admonition, who was ordered every morning and evening to remind him of Athens; Hippias was too vigilant an incendiary to omit any occaſion of making the king's reſentment ſubſervient to his own intereſts and deſigns.

Herodot. Terpſich. Ejuſd. Erato.

As ſoon as the rebellion in Ionia was quelled, and the Perſian, freed from inteſtine commotions, could ſafely lead his forces abroad, the aſſiduity of Hippias prevailed, and Darius ſent his miniſters to demand homage of the diverſe ſtates of Greece, and particularly to deliver his mandate to Athens, to ſubmit at diſcretion to his power, and to receive Hippias as his delegate: the Athenians, not ſatisfied with treating this embaſſy with contempt, ſtrove in other parts to procure it a ſimilar reception; and if any city yielded tokens of ſubmiſſion from motives of lucre or fear, they plainly declared that neutrality was not admiſſible, and that all who entered not into the common cauſe with the ardour of friends, were to be regarded as enemies.

Herodot. Erato.

Erato.

The Æginetans were among thoſe who liſtened to the proffers or menaces of the Perſian; or, as Herodotus intimates, from enmity to the Athenians, their ancient rivals on the ſeas, and now become too powerful for them to cope with, unleſs aided by ſuch ſtrong alliance as at this period offered itſelf.

Pauſan. in Corinth. Ælian. L. 12. C. 10. Plut. in Themiſt. Vit. Strabo. L. 8.

ÆGINA was an iſland [66], which of a flat and ſtoney ſoil, had from the very firſt neceſſitated its inhabitants to ſeek ſuſtenance from the ſeas; the bark was ſoon improved into the veſſel, the troop of fiſhermen became a nation of merchants, and its naval experience and power, during the uſurpations at Athens, had arrogated the dominion of the ſeas.

ATHENS, when liberated from the Piſiſtratidæ, with her freedom reſumed her commerce and naval ſpirit; hence diſputes,

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putes, hence bloody contentions, ſucceſſively aroſe between theſe too neighbouring rivals; for Ægina was within ſight of Attica, and emphatically termed the "eyeſore of the Piræeus." Pericles and Demades diſpute the apothegm. Plut. Vit. Pericl. Athenæus. L. 3.

HOSTILITIES had lately enſued between theſe naval powers, on the ſubject of certain images made of the ſacred olive, given by Athens to Epidaurus, and by force carried off from Epidaurus by the Æginetans: the interference of the Delphic oracle had terminated this "holy war," at the moment when the iſlanders were ſinking under ſuperior force: the Athenians had ſubmitted to the oracular injunction of a thirty years truce, during which they were to build a fane to Æacus: the fane was built; and this condition being complied with, national enmity compromiſed with ſuperſtition, and nought but a pretext for infringement of the truce was wanting to expedite an attack on the fleets and territories of Ægina. Herodot. Terpſich.

THE preſent conduct of the Æginetans in tendering "earth "and water" to the Perſian, opened an occaſion of commencing hoſtilities too ſpecious and too honourable to be paſſed over: this iſland being however under ſome engagements of ſubordinate alliance with the Spartan, it was firſt thought proper to demand chaſtiſement at the hands of the ſovereign ſtate, of that people, who had acted in a manner derogatory to the honour of Greece, had ſpurned the compact of its aſſociated cities, and had entered into the views of its common enemy. The Spartans gave ear to the remonſtrance, and taking ten of the chief citizens from Ægina, ſent them hoſtages to Athens, in ſecurity for the fidelity of their countrymen: theſe again quickly made repriſals on the coaſts of Attica, and after various altercation, a naval war broke out between Ægina and Athens, and was Herodot. Erato. Herodot. Polymn. Thucyd. L. 1. § 14.

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ſome time carried on with various ſucceſs, but with uniform animoſity and exertion.

THESE conteſts with Ægina merit our attention, as they mark the progreſs of, and have their ſhare in accounting for the Athenian greatneſs at ſea, for thoſe "*wooden walls*" [67] which ſo ſuddenly roſe up, the ſafeguard and bulwark of Greece. The expedition to the coaſt of Ionia, and ſiege of Sardis, had awakened the ſpirit, and improved the means of naval armaments; and the Æginetan wars had further taught the ſhipbuilder and engineer the advantages of their art, and had given the mariner the courage and dexterity of habit.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Themiſt.

THE forces of Darius, to the amount of two hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, were now muſtered in Cilicia, and ready for embarkation: ſix hundred veſſels of war were already hovering on the coaſts, and this formidable armament taking on board the troops, immediately pointed its courſe to Eubœa: the city of Eretria in that iſland, had likewiſe given ſome ſupport to the inſurgents of Ionia; and Datis, the Perſian general, was ordered by his king to bring the whole of that and the Athenian people in chains to the foot of his throne.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Miltiad. Herodot. Erato.

THIS haughty mandate, and the mighty force deſtined to its accompliſhment, intimidated the independant republics, and turned the attention of all from inteſtine broils to the means of common ſafety: in vain however the iſlands boaſted the parade of oppoſition to ſo numerous an enemy; they were quickly over-run and deſpoiled; even Eretria made but a ſhort reſiſtance; and Datis, having thus in part effected his commiſſion, ſent a multitude of every age and ſex to await the ſentence of Darius. Four thouſand men, whom Athens had generouſly afforded

Ibid. Cteſias in Perſic.

forded in ſuccour, were as generouſly diſmiſſed by the Eretrians, previous to the moment of deſpair, that ſurrendered up their liberties; and they opportunely returned to join in the defence of their native country. CHAP. XI.

"THE Perſian camp is pitched on the plains of Marathon, "let us (ſaid Miltiades) let us meet them with ardour in the "field; vain is the idea of ſafety within theſe walls; impa- "tience of confinement, and the feelings of hardſhip, of ap- "prehenſion, or of intereſt, ever have, and ever will beget "treachery; and ſhould not this be the caſe, ſtill the firſt emo- "tion of courage deadens, unleſs animated by the heat of enter- "prize; the ſpirit of men loſes force in a diviſion of poſts; "embody your citizens, lead them undauntedly forth, and emu- "lation and patriotiſm will effect wonders." Corn. Nep. Vit. Miltiad. Herodot. Erato.

THE advice of Miltiades was adopted; and how juſt was the reaſoning, and how provident of events, every after circumſtance will evince. During the conflict at Marathon (the particulars of which I think it inconſequential to recite) a ſhield was by ſome traitor-hand held up at Athens, as a ſignal to the Perſian fleet that the walls were vacate; but the citizens returned in time from the completion of their victory, to fruſtrate the treachery and repel the invaders. Juſtin. L. 2. C. 9. Herodot. Erato.

THE commonwealth began now to feel and to glory in the effects of its happy eſtabliſhment; the firſt means of its liberty were recalled to mind, the firſt moment was ſanctified, the firſt authors venerated: the deed of Ariſtogeiton and Harmodius was again held up to public view; decree enſued decree in honour of the Tyrannicides; no ſlave was ever after to bear thoſe names; their martyrdom was a ſubject conſigned to the chorus at the Panathenæan Pauſan. in Att.

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Panathenæan feſtival [68], and their ſtatues were anew raiſed in braſs, and worked by the hand of Praxiteles.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 34. C. 4, & 8.
Corn. Nep. Vit. Miltiad.
Pauſan. in Meſſen.

THE wiſdom and valour of Miltiades were crowned [69] too with marks of public favour and renown; his portrait was painted at the head of the ten generals, who led forth the ten thouſand brave citizens of Athens to the conqueſt of twenty times their number; and the hero was contented with his reward.

WHEN pecuniary, or other recompence [70] of worldly value is beſtowed on a great or good deed, and the gift to virtue is the ſame with the hire of vice, the diſtinction is much impaired; and the purity of the motive no longer being aſcertained, the action is no longer in the ſame manner ennobled by the reward: the high-minded diſdaining to receive in common with thoſe of ſordid views, the incentive of glory loſes ground, and the hopes of payment enlarge their influence, till in fine, the unworthy alone puſh forward to notice and retribution, through means corrupting and deſtructive to the commonwealth. Public virtue is then loſt, and with it the republic.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Miltiad.
Herodot. Erato.

THE Perſian forces were effectually repulſed, and now retired homeward in diſmay: ſeventy veſſels were fitted out from Athens to ſcour the ſeas, and to levy fines on ſuch of the iſlands, as by apoſtacy to the common cauſe, or by a neutral policy, had avoided the danger, and were now to enjoy the fruits of victory. A contribution from theſe ſtates was deemed a juſt demand, and Miltiades was ſent at the head of the fleet to command and enforce the impoſt: his firſt deſtination was to Paros, where being diſappointed in his purpoſe, and ſeverely wounded too in the attempt, he returned ſucceſsleſs and diſpirited to Athens. The people were aſtoniſhed at the repulſe! an Athenian armament, and

and under the conduct too of Miltiades was to be irreſiſtable! the leader ſurely muſt have betrayed the duties of his command, and have tampered with the Perſian, or very iſlands he was ſent to tax or puniſh! Diſcontent often gives birth to general rumour, and rumour to particular ſuſpicion: the conduct of Miltiades was arraigned and condemned, and a heavy fine impoſed, from the weight of which, and of his country's diſpleaſure, he was freed by a ſudden death, the conſequence of the wound received in its ſervice. CHAP. XI. Pauſan. in Att.

INGRATITUDE [71] is a topic on which the declaimer rivets the attention of his audience: it touches home to the ſelfiſhneſs of benevolence; it excites an irkſome ſenſe of the intereſt generoſity takes in expected retribution; and anger, from diſſatisfaction of the conſcience thus awakened to itſelf, irritates and vexes the mind with the object that occaſioned it: the ſources of ſuch emotion we are not willing to ſift to the bottom, but haſtily attribute it to an antipathy of thoſe void of liberality, and of the ſentiment thereof: but the worſt men entertain a ſenſe of conferring, if not of receiving an obligation; they too ſtart with horror at the ſame tale of benefit ill repaid; the quality of their mite of goodneſs is equally dear, and the proof of the alloy equally diſtreſsful. It muſt be the facility hence of awakening the paſſions, and intereſting the perſons addreſſed, or ſelf-deception, or miſapplication of the term, that hath betrayed ſo many writers, and ſpeakers too, into the abſurdity of haranguing on the ingratitude of a collective ſtate towards a ſubject thereof; as if in any vicious ſenſe (and in any other ſenſe I think the word hath no meaning) a republic could be ungrateful to a conſtituent thereof!

IT is a mark of general depravity, when ſelf-adulation exalts the mere duties of life: a juſt idea of what we owe to our country, L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 4. C. 5. & L. 5. C. 3.

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country, precludes all works of ſuperorogation in the pure faith of patriotiſm as in that of religion; when we have done all we can, we have done but what we ought: in the leſſer, as in the more general ſyſtem, we ſhould with reſignation often conſider a private evil as a public benefit; and reverence the "*vox "populi* [72]," if not as that of God, yet as worthy to be held in ſecondary regard. Each citizen who aſſembled for the Oſtraciſm, or other mode of judicature, met to conſider of the ſafety and weal of the republic; from the moment that he was in his public capacity, no other than public views were to influence his vote; the queſtion was not, whether the man proceeded againſt had hitherto been of ſervice, but whether in future he might be of diſſervice, to the ſtate; he was to conſider himſelf as an advocate retained on the part of his country; that its ſafety and well-being then and thenceforward depended on his voice, and that it was not juſtifiable to reject the mereſt ſurmiſe of danger to many, in favour to one; no luſtre of private character was to dazzle and draw his attention from the common weal; if a thought of the man intruded, it was derogatory to the duty of the citizen:—"Miltiades behaved juſtly in the "Cherſoneſe;"—"*True, but he there aſſumed the enſigns and "honours of royalty*;"—"His manners are plauſible, his eloquence "popular, his valour approved;"—"*It was the very character of "Piſiſtratus*;"—"Remember the victory at Marathon;"—"*Doth "not himſelf remember it too much?*"—"His enmity with the "Perſian king muſt ſurely be irreconcileable, for could Darius "forget the hardy propoſal made on the banks of the Danube?"

Mach. Diſc. L. 1. C. 58.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Miltiad.

Suid. ad Verb. Miltiad.

"*Aye! but when Tiſſaphernes ſent ſtores to Attica, it was on the "interceſſion, and to the faith of* Miltiades alone, *that he would "conſign them.*"—Says Nepos, "*Hæc populus reſpiciens maluit "eum innoxium plecti, quam ſe diutiùs eſſe in timore* [73]."

Vit. Miltiad.

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CHAP. XII.

OF THE SECOND PERSIAN WAR.

DARIUS, irritated by the defeat, was gathering together the fugitives from Marathon, levying anew forces, building ſhips, and every way preparing a vaſt armament to cruſh and extirpate the very name of Athens, when death ſtept in between, and put a ſudden ſtop to his career of vanity, rage, and folly. Herodot. Polymn.

A YOUNG and ignorant youth upon the throne; a miniſter ſacrificing truth, honour, and the welfare of a whole people to his private purpoſe; that purpoſe ſought with the meaneſt adulation; and that adulation oppoſed in vain, and with danger too, to the honeſt diſſentient;—a ſcene now become common-place on the great theatre of the world, was then played in the council chamber of Perſia: Xerxes opens the debate with much ignorance, and much arrogance; Mardonius avails himſelf of the one, and flatters the other; the ſpeech of Artabanus I cannot ſo lightly paſs over: "Give ſome attention [74] (ſaid he) O king, "to adverſe counſels; the value of the previous opinion will "then have ſome teſt; the ſound quality of advice is to be aſ- "certained by oppoſition alone. Where is this proweſs, that the "Greeks are to find ſo irreſiſtable? Failed it not in Scythia? "failed it not in Attica? how few intrepid men there braved "the aſſault of myriads! how fully did they evince that cou- "rage and unanimity could conquer in deſpight of multitude! "And this bridge over the Helleſpont! is it ſo ſoon then for- "gotten, how nearly Darius, and all the flower of Perſia were "betrayed, and left victims to the colds and dearth of Scythia? I Ibid. Plat. de Leg. L. 3. Herodot. Polymn.

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" ſhudder at the thought, that the fate of our king, our all, were " dependant on a ſingle voice, and *that* too of Hiſtiæus, *the* " *traitor!*—But ſuppoſing this armament, this mighty fleet, " theſe numerous troops to be invincible, can they ſubdue too " the elements? Your bridge, and your ſhips, may they not be " ſhattered by ſtorms? or is armour proof againſt peſtilence or " famine? It is not the force of myriads that can oppoſe the " will of heaven; as its thunders ſpare the lowly object, and " beat down the oak or palace, ſo God delights in abaſing the " arrogance of human deſigns, and depreſſes the mightier, and " elevates the weaker power! for know, O king, that *God,* " *jealous of the ſentiment of ſelf-greatneſs, permitteth it but* " *to himſelf alone!*" This ſpeech, which I have taken from Herodotus, was received with contempt, and anſwered with paſſion; the ſpeaker was called coward and dotard, and the expedition intended by Darius was adopted and reſolved upon: the debate then cloſed, the curtain dropt, and, according to the known inverſion of the political theatre, the farce being ended, the tragedy was to begin.

Herodot. Polymn.

LET us paſs over the muſters and march of the army; and, having viewed twelve hundred ſhips ſail in an artificial channel cut through mount Athos, and having viewed a million [75] of ſoldiers with an innumerable train of women, ſlaves, and other followers, paſs the ſtupendous bridge over the Helleſpont, let us haſten and follow Xerxes, and theſe multitudes, to their camp near Tempe in Theſſaly.

Ibid.

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

THE ſtorm rumbled from afar, and Greece awakened to the ſound! a general council was called, every private pretenſion and conteſt was waved, levies were ordered, taxes impoſed, alliances ſuggeſted, and every means of defence explored, argued, and expedited. Synætus the Spartan, and Themiſtocles from Athens,

Plut. Vit. Themiſt. Herodot. Polymn.

Athens, were immediately ſent forward with ten thouſand men to meet the Perſian, to ſolicit adherence to the common cauſe, to fix the wavering, to attach the diſſentient; and, every where collecting what troops they could, to harraſs the invaders, and, cutting off their proviſions and forage, to retard their progreſs; and afford the Grecian council time to think and order beſt for the common ſecurity. Theſe generals were in many parts unſucceſsful; ſome ſtates were alienated by diſguſt, the generous wiſhes of ſome were repreſſed by inability or fear, and others, whoſe patriotiſm had yielded to motives of lucre, deigned not even to plead preſent eaſe or danger, but openly abetted the deſigns of the public enemy. The emiſſaries diſpatched in queſt of ſuccour from Apulia and Sicily, met not with a more favourable reception; they enliſted but one ſmall detachment from Crotone under Phayllus: the Carthaginians intimidated by the vicinity of Ægypt (then a province of the Perſian empire) had entered into alliance with Xerxes, and the part aſſigned them, was to keep the Greek ſettlements in Italy, and in Sicily, too fully employed, to anyways afford aſſiſtance to the mother-country. Under theſe accumulated diſtreſſes and diſappointments, it was judged expedient to ſtudy every means of protracting the war; and heaven [76] in default of other allies, might perhaps abet ſo juſt a cauſe, and with diſeaſe, tempeſt, or famine, vex and diminiſh their enemies. Leonidas and the Spartans undertook to retard for ſome time the Perſian inroad into Greece; at the paſs of Thermopylæ bravely and deſperately they effected their purpoſe; reſiſted for many days the whole Perſian army under the advantage of ſituation, nor quitted it but with their lives.

Herod. Uran.

Diod. Sic. L. 11. S. 10.

Plat. de Leg. L. 3.

Herodot. Polymn. Pauſan. in Lacon. Front. in Stratag. L. 2. C. 3.

In the war with Darius, we ſaw the Athenians firmly diſpute the field of battle, we ſaw the unanimity of patriots ſubſtitute to the diſcipline of ſoldiers, produce as combined and as irreſiſtable

Herodot. Erato.

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ſiſtable a force; we are now to view them in a different ſcene of action, to behold them driven vagabond to the ſeas, and in this their diſtreſs opening another ſluice, and ruſhing in a new channel to honour and dominion.

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

THE confederate fleet was ſtationed near Artemiſium [77] in Eubæa; the Perſian admiral ſent round three hundred veſſels to block up this armament in the narrow ſtreight, which divides that iſland from the continent, and intercept them if attempting to eſcape. This haughty indication of ſuperiority awakened the indignation of the Greeks; and that, and deſpair of flight, urged them to await the conflict with the ſullen reſolution of thoſe who foreſee and are prepared for the worſt.

Iſocrat. Panath. Herodot. Uran. Plut. Vit. Themiſt.

THOUGH the Athenians, from regard to the common union, waved all pretenſions to the ſupreme command, yet Eurybiades, the Spartan leader, in every caſe of difficulty recurred to the genius of Themiſtocles: this Athenian was endowed with a larger portion of etherial ſpirit than in the munificence of nature is often allotted to one man; daring in enterprize, cool in action, of a foreſight like prophecy, a comprehenſion intuitive, and a memory (as himſelf declared) retentive even to a pain, was this extraordinary character; and it quickly gained an aſcendancy which no political arrangements could preclude. Was the commander of Sparta, of Tegeæa, or Ægina, or aught other ſtate, ſtill to Themiſtocles every mind looked up for ſcheme, every eye for example: he perceived that the ſpirit of his countrymen deadened in inaction, he well knew that defence was of a ſluggiſh caſt, that attack anticipated the air of triumph; and he accordingly uſed every art to perſuade them to provoke the combat, and go forth and aſſail the Perſian detachment: he ſucceeded, and the conflict, though not deciſive, gave the allied Greeks better hopes of victory; it ſhowed that valour had its

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

Iſocrat. Paneg.

ſuperiority

ſuperiority as well as multitude, and taught them for the future to regard diſparity of force as diſtinct from that of numbers.

Xerxes and his army were now advanced towards Attica; the country was depopulated, the city defenceleſs; "Shall we then "forſake our ſhips? the wooden walls which the oracle deſ- "tined for our bulwark? No (ſaid Themiſtocles) rather let us "recur to them for the ſafety of our wives, our children, our "all that is dear to us: grieve not at the battering of your "ramparts, or conflagration of your town; the republic lives "not in its edifices, but in its men; not the city, but the citi- "zens make the ſtate; ſave them, and Athens is ſtill great, and "may yet be happy." This deſperate [78] reſource was adopted; and thoſe whom ſex, decrepitude, or infancy rendered unfit for ſervice, were depoſited in Salamis, Ægina, and other neighbouring iſlands, to await better times for their reſtoration to their native gods and country.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Themiſt. Frontin. Strat. L. 1. C. 3. Herodot. Uran. Cteſias in Perſ.

In the chain of affection patriotiſm appears a neceſſary link intermediate to ſocial love and general philanthropy: the man who loves not his country can be no very warm friend to mankind: thus we find the Athenians ſhowed more ardour for, and more benevolence to, the common cauſe, than any other of the Greeks;—the Spartans indeed were equally attached to their Sparta, but not equally to the common welfare; to account for this exception we muſt obſerve, that inſtitution with them improved not nature, but ſupplaced nature with habit; that habit tranſcends not its practice, and that their devotion was thus bounded by the maxims and exerciſe of duty preſcribed to the narrow circle of their own ſtate.

Much as Athens had ſuffered, and conſtant as ſhe was in her ſufferings, the allies were little willing to riſque any thing for her

Iſocrat. Paneg.

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her ſupport or conſolation: a ſelfiſh ſyſtem of conduct was adopted; the fortification of the iſthmus, and the ſtation of the fleet on the coaſts of the Peloponneſe, were determined on by the confederates, whoſe territories lay in thoſe parts: Themiſtocles foreſaw the dangers of this narrow policy,—that the different detachments quitting the general rendezvous were likely to quit the common cauſe; ſome would retire to their native harbours, ſome ſell their freedom, and ſome ſeek it on a diſtant and unmoleſted ſhore: And were the Athenian wives and daughters to be left defenceleſs, and devoted to all the outrage of captivity? were the people to be forſaken, who had forſaken their all, to preſerve their faith, and take ſo hardy a part in the perils too of others? Some of the Greeks went ſo far as to object to the Athenian voice in council, to cavil at their very exiſtence as a ſtate, and to baſely twit them with the loſs of that country, which they had given up from ſuch public-ſpirited and noble motives: incenſed at the inſult, the Athenians declared, "they ſtill had, "and ſhould ſoon diſplay their conſequence; that they would "depart for Siris in Italy, the propitious ſpot of ſettlement "pointed out to them by the oracle; and the Peloponneſians "would then feel how much force they had loſt, and ſeverely "rue the inſolence of their preſent deportment." This menace occaſioned at leaſt ſome heſitation; and Themiſtocles availed himſelf of the moment of delay to fruſtrate the ſcheme of retreat, and force an engagement: he found means of informing Xerxes of the intended departure, and with ſpecious argument, and under the maſk of treaſonable friendſhip, perſuaded him to intercept the paſs, and attack the Grecians when in the diſorder and diſmay of flight: the ſtratagem ſucceeded, the Perſian fleet blocked up the road; and Themiſtocles then apprizing the confederates of the impracticability of eſcape, neceſſity held the place of virtue, and they prepared for the combat.

Corn. Nep. Vit Themiſt. Diod. Sic. L. 11. Herodot. Uran.

Iſocrat. Archid. Orat.

Herodot. Uran.

Juſtin. L. 2. C. 13. Front. Stratag. L. 2. C. 1.

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On one ſide behold the naval force of half the known world, and, amidſt a croud of uncouth names and barbarous novelties, obſerve too the moſt experienced and renowned of maritime nations, the veteran ſailors of the iſles, of the Euxine ſea, and of Ægypt; remark too three hundred veſſels from Sidonia and Syria, and manned by thoſe Phœnicians whoſe proweſs and practice are the favourite themes of antiquity! Diod. Sic. L. 11. Herodot. Polymn. & Uran.

On the other part view the armament of the Greeks; a ſmall but deſperate band, not equalling in numbers of their fleet a fourth part [79] of the enemy's, but ſtill placing a forlorn hope of victory in the reſolution to die for it. Ibid. Æſchyl. Perſ. Trag. Cteſias in Perſ.

Themistocles ſtudied every means to leſſen or baffle the ſuperiority of the enemy: he tampered with the Aſiatic Greeks, and making them, or making them ſeem inclinable to deſert, rendered them ſuſpicious to the king, and they were not permitted to mingle in the combat: he artfully contrived to draw the Perſians into the narrow ſeas, where the previous orders and arrangements of ſo crouded a fleet were impeded and broken, and in the moment of embarraſſment he gave the ſignal of attack; the Greeks ruſhed with impetuoſity into the midſt of the enemy, ſunk ſome veſſels, diſordered the whole body, forced many on ſhore, and many finding their very efforts to engage fruitleſs, withdrew from the ſcene of action. In this battle, the Athenians were ſtationed oppoſite to the Phœnician ſquadron, and thus bore the hotteſt brunt of the engagement, till their experienced adverſaries, together with the whole Perſian fleet, were nearly deſtroyed,—five hundred of their ſhips being ſunk or taken: thus glorious and deciſive was the victory of the Greeks. Though many ſhips were ſunk, and many ſtranded, yet it was to be ſuppoſed, that of ſo vaſt a fleet ſufficient might remain to be ſtill formidable, and to bring the ſuperiority at ſea again to hoſtile Juſtin. L. 2. C. 10. Frontin. Stratag. L. 2. C. 3. Cteſias in Perſ. Herodot. Uran.

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hoſtile diſcuſſion: Juſtin clears up this difficulty with obſerving, that thoſe who had eſcaped or avoided the conflict, dreading the reſentment and cruelty of the king, as much, or more than even the bravery of the foe, ſlunk off in ſecrecy to their native ports and cities.

Juſtin. L. 2. C. 12.

Frontin. Stratag. L. 2. C. 6.

XERXES fled precipitately towards the Helleſpont; far from impeding, Themiſtocles wiſely opened a way [80] to his retreat; timidity probably accelerated his flight, for arrogance and meanneſs of ſpirit belong to dirt of the ſame mold; but good and ſubſtantial reaſons were urged for his withdrawing haſtily to Aſia;—ere the rumour of his defeat might reach that country, and excite the commotion of all, the ſeditious ſpirit of many, and treaſons of ſome; which ever originate in public calamity, which exaggerate it from fears or from deſign, and might, under the contingencies of his abſence, ſhake the very ſeat of empire. He left however Mardonius to carry on the war, and with a view too (as I think Diodorus of Sicily hints) of covering his retreat, for the army under Mardonius withdrew northward from the ſcene of action.

Juſtin. L. 2. C. 13.

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

THE threat of ſeceſſion from the league, dropt by the Athenians previous to the battle, was not readily forgotten; whatever provocation called forth the menace, the menace was alone remembered, and with all the bitterneſs of diſguſt;—for hatred often finds new ſubject in its very injuſtice.

WHEN Eurybiades was to beſtow the palm of virtue, he paſſed by the Athenians, and allowed to their rivals the Æginetans the firſt place of deſert: the Spartans however feared the abilities of Themiſtocles, and whilſt they inſulted the people, to conciliate their general, loaded him with preſents and applauſe: the Athenians were too high-minded to ſtoop to reproach or complaint; but

Ibid. Herodot. Uran.

but their indignation vented itſelf on Themiſtocles, who had held his hand forth for the gift, and from a mercenary conſideration, had waved a juſt ſenſe of the many indignities offered to his country: he was immediately degraded, and the command given to Xantippus. Attica was now vacated by the Perſian; and affection for the natal ſoil,—that endearment, which the recollection of tender or happy incidents gives to the ſcene of paſt enjoyment (deemed enjoyment perhaps becauſe paſt!) and a ſuperſtitious veneration for ſome ſpots, and the attachment uſe gives to all,—urged the Athenians to immediately return to the ſite of their native city, repair its ruins, rebuild its walls, and propitiate its gods with new ſacrifices and temples.

THE reſtleſs ambition of Themiſtocles ill-brooked the diſgrace he was under with his fellow-citizens; and to recover their favour, his genius agitated every plan of private artifice, or of public ſervice: convening the aſſembly, in a bold and artful harangue, he hinted at a ſcheme of the utmoſt importance to the ſtate, but which notoriety would fruſtrate the execution of; he therefore demanded the aſſiſtance of ſuch good and wiſe citizens as could be relied on by the community: ſingly, Ariſtides was judged to be of wiſdom and integrity adequate to the truſt, and he was commanded to attend to and report his opinion of the project in view: Ariſtides, on a future day, ſtept forth in the aſſembly, and without preamble of approbation or diſlike, merely declared that the ſcheme was equally replete with benefit to themſelves, and with injuſtice to others; and without further enquiry it was unanimouſly rejected. Plut. Vit. Themiſt.

THE very eſſence of a popular government (ſays Monteſquieu) is virtue [81]; it is indeed the ſoul of a republic, and diſſolution attends its exit: dynaſties may long ſtand on a baſis of various ſubſtance, of force of inſtitution, or of mere preſcription; L'Eſprit des Loix. L. 3. C. 3.

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but a democracy requires the precious cement of probity, ſifted from every particle of vicious or ſelfiſh inclination; the ſtate cannot long exiſt but of good citizens, and the good citizen hath its foundation in the good man; patriotiſm may be termed an alchemy elaborated from all private virtues: obſerve well, that had the aſſembly of Athens paid the lighteſt attention to the policy of Themiſtocles, it muſt have been from ſelfiſh views; and every citizen who had given a voice even for the debate, muſt have been actuated by motives that marked him as a member dangerous to the future commonweal.

Herodot. Uran. Diod. Sic. L. 11.

THE Athenians were of all others moſt the object of dread to the common enemy; Marathon echoed the hiſtory of their valour, Salamis of their naval proweſs and policy; and the force accruing to the Greek confederacy from their peculiar vigour and reſources, were obvious on repeated trial: Mardonius pondered how to detach this people from the alliance; their patrimonies were plundered, and themſelves and families doomed to a long and laborious penury; miſery might at length perhaps have broken the firmneſs of their ſpirit, and have alienated their minds from ſo diſtreſsful a cauſe: to uſe the elegant words of Tacitus, "*Certamen virtutis et ambitio gloriæ, felicium hominum affectus.*"

Tacit. Ann. 15.

Diodor. Sic. Lib. 11. Juſtin. L. 2. C. 14.

MINISTERS were diſpatched to Athens with every threat that could influence, and every proffer that might ſeduce; would they pay a titular homage, and be merely nominal tributaries to Xerxes, the faireſt ſpot of Greece, or of the known world was at their choice; or their city ſhould be rebuilt, and their public edifices erected and endowed with ſplendour and with opulence; nor ſhould a law be touched, or privilege be invaded: the Spartans ſent emiſſaries in haſte and terror to meet and oppoſe this embaſſy; they were conſcious of the ill-treatment

which Athens might plead in vindication of infidelity to the Grecian league, and they came ready fraught with argument, entreaty, and reproach. CHAP. XII.

ON this occaſion there was a dignity in the conduct of the Athenian ſenate, which can never be ſufficiently admired: the propoſals of Mardonius were received with a contemptuous ſilence;—the ambaſſadors ſimply were deſired to immediately quit the city; for the ſenate revered the ſacred character, and were unwilling that it ſhould meet with the inſult, any delay within their walls might expoſe it to:—to the Spartans they replied in the haughty tone of offended deſert, and bade them for the future judge better of their virtue, and their ſervices. Diod. Sic. L. 11. Plutarch. Vit. Ariſtid.

MARDONIUS, exaſperated at the repulſe, again poured his myriads into Attica; and again the aged and the weak were wafted to the neighbouring coaſts, and the city deſtroyed, and its very foundations eraſed. As if their country was endeared by adverſity, the people this time lingered to the laſt moment within their town, nor quitted it till their ſupplications for reinforcement had been rejected by Sparta, and every other city of the League. It ſoon appeared that an engagement, though procraſtinated, could not be avoided; Mardonius advanced, raging with fire and ſword, from territory to territory; and then at length the cogency of their own affairs induced the Peloponneſians to take the field; and the confederate army, as ſoon as collected, advanced to meet the enemy then deſolating the plains of Platæa. Pauſanias, the Spartan king, commanded the allied forces, conſiſting of an hundred thouſand combatants, a number by far greater than the Grecians had ever heretofore muſtered in one field of battle: let us not dwell on inconſequent particulars; the victory at Platæa, though more ſharply conteſted, was again deciſive in favour of the Greeks; the Perſian generals [82] Herodot. Calliop. Cteſias in Perſ.

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were killed, the whole army routed; and the carnage purſued with ſuch rage and animoſity, that fortunate was the Perſian wh eſcaped to tell his king, "how prophetic were the tears he ſhed "when numbering his millions at Sardis!"

Herodot. Polymn.

Id. in Calliop.

LEUTYCHIDES and Xantippus, ſtill purſuing and harraſſing the remains of the fleet worſted at Salamis, at length forced it from the ſeas; the mariners, no longer daring to face the naval power of the Greeks, drew their veſſels on ſhore, and by a fortification and entrenchment, ſought to ſecure them from the enemy; but nothing could ſtop the ardour of conqueſt; the Grecians ſallied from their ſhips; impediment and numbers were ſlighted; and the very day that crowned the Greeks with victory at Platæa, gave them the laurel too at Mycale.

Diod. Sic. L. 11. Juſtin. L. 2. C. 14.

Cteſias in Perſ. Juſtin. L. 3. C. 1.

THE mighty armament employed on this expedition, was the united effort of the vaſt empire of Perſia, and its forces having been thus ſucceſſively vanquiſhed, and its fleets deſtroyed, Xerxes was no longer in a capacity of carrying hoſtilities abroad, but, embittered by diſappointed vanity, was left to vent its cruelty on his ſubjects, or to blunt its poignancy in diſſipation, till vice and tyranny exceeded even the bounds of Aſiatic ſufferance, and he fell a victim to the public reſentment.

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

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OF GREAT MEN—ATHENS REBUILT—CONSEQUENCES OF THE PERSIAN WAR—SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

OFTENTIMES a rational enquiry proves introductory to the emotions of the heart, and gives birth to a pleaſure the more ſtrong, as proceeding from the united impulſe of argument and paſſion. Whilſt we trace the viciſſitudes of human lot; whilſt we ſtudy to obviate our own or others frailties; whilſt we glean knowledge and happineſs from the fields of error and misfortune, we become intereſted in the characters of our leſſon; a generous ſympathy mixes itſelf with our ſpeculations, and as reaſon approves or condemns, every nerve vibrates in harmony to the ſentiment: we become cenſors with Cato, and patriots with Brutus, and for a moment enter into the habitudes of ſociety, artfully introduced to us by the writer, as ſtrongly as thoſe of our daily and domeſtic intercourſe. The facility of forming particular applications, and the intereſt therein taken by the generality of readers, have induced many hiſtorians to make public events ſecondary to private characters; and inſtead of attempting to abſorb the attention in the weal and fortunes of a collective ſtate, to take the eaſier taſk of painting a ſingle figure in life, and attaching the ſtudent by the refined flattery of raiſing in him aſcititious feelings, and then placing them in proud ſelf-compariſon with the picture. Even thoſe who give the moſt idle peruſal to a work, are yet from daily practice habituated to a conſideration of the virtues and vices of an individual; but when the actions of a combined ſociety are in view, the lengthened chain requires the moſt aſſiduous ſpirit to unravel it, much penetration to diſcover the minute links,

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links, and much acuteneſs to diſcriminate their multiplicate relations and dependancies.

MORE are capable of feeling than of ſpeculating; perhaps moſt men are fonder of ſentiment than of thought; and when I preſume to blame thoſe who have turned hiſtory into adventure, and who have emulated the portrait painter, whoſe Coloſſal hero ſtalks in front of a battle or a town ſcarcely the dimenſion of his ſhoe; when I propoſe every where to elevate the battle and the town, to take virtue as much as may be in the aggregate, nor depreſs the characteriſtic of a people by an unnatural and degrading contraſt with the character of one man; perhaps I may afford leſs entertainment than thoſe I am bold to cenſure: but to rouſe public principles and public virtue, whilſt I trace the hiſtory of a great and free people, and to excite political caution, whilſt I conjoin cauſes and effects, and note each progreſſive ſtep to elevation, and towards decline, form the ſcope of this treatiſe, nor can I relinquiſh it in favour to a particular ſubject, and to a particular claſs of readers.

GREAT men I am to look upon as factitious beings; the further the analyſis is purſued, the more rational the "*nil admirari*" of the old Numicus will appear; the more we ſhall be led to think that they are much indebted to caſualties for their elevation; and remarking the extravagancies on which their pretenſions to ſuperiority are often founded, perhaps imagine that merit as well as opulence is in the hands of fortune, whilſt by her good favour crimes are aggrandized into heroiſm; and vice, which in a meaner ſtate was turned from in abhorrence, becomes reſpected in its exceſs. Even the real virtue which ſome few times hath found its way to pre-eminence, perhaps was not of a more ſublimate or etherial temper, than that of myriads depreſſed in oblivion; as the ſtatue [83] of Memnon in Ægypt, which

Tacit. Annal. 2.

which ſpoke when the riſing ſun beamed upon its head, ſo many a ſeeming block in private life might vivify, were a timely ray of fortune directed to its receſs of ſpirit. Perhaps thoſe minds endowed with the moſt tranſcendant qualities, have through every age paſſed with little notice, and without general eſteem: the ſoldier who aſked Miltiades "wherefore he wore the laurel "his country had won;" if he ſpoke not from envy, was of more intrinſic worth than Miltiades: ſome alloy is neceſſary to make a character current: the younger Pliny well obſerves, "That genius cannot alone ſtruggle into day; it muſt be drawn "forth by ſeaſon and circumſtance; nor will theſe ſuffice, unleſs too it be abetted by the patronage of ſocial favour and "introduction." Is there a man ſo viſionary, and ſo little practiced in life, as not to know that the price of public notice is the abaſement of many parts eſſential to the theory of exalted virtue? The candidate muſt often proſtitute his opinion, if not his morals; it is the only key to the barrier of vanity; and if he diſdain that path to the good graces of mankind, he had better forego all hopes of attainment: and after all, and even the moſt brilliant exertion of ability, the ſimple reaſon of preference will often prevail againſt him, which raiſed Poppæus Sabinus to the favour of the emperor Tiberius; "*Nullam ob eximiam artem, "ſed quòd par negotiis, neque ſupra erat*;" a policy in choice well deſerving attention!

Plin. Ep. L. 6. Ep. 23.

Tacit. Ann. 6.

The ſubtilty of intellect, or ſpirit of enterprize, or what elſe may enter into the compoſition of thoſe we vulgarly term "great "men," are particularly to be guarded againſt in popular governments: aſcendancy [84] of private character may diſcompoſe the union, or corrupt the virtue of the people; favour to particular men may beget factions in the ſtate, and ſocial love recoil from the extent of patriotiſm to the narrow circle of a party; then is it retreated midway to domeſtics and to ſelf-intereſt;

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intereſt; ſelf-intereſt in its turn will quickly ſway, and the commonwealth be diſtracted with various and private influences. Even a virtuous man too much diſtinguiſhed and exalted above his peers, may open this ſluice to the ruin of his country: let us draw a character more dangerous, as more fitted for ſelf-elevation; let us delineate the hero of Salamis: his mind was of a ſublimate and active ſpirit, that pervaded in a momentary courſe, the paſt, the preſent, and the future; and had a command of experience, ſubtilty, and foreſight, for the exigencies of the hour, or for the protractions of policy; quick in thought and tardy to execute; or dilatory in purpoſe, and immediate and bold in perpetration, as juncture neceſſitated, or as ſeaſon required: no ſcheme was too deep for his capacity; no enterprize too hardy for his courage; he had not the winning ſoftneſs, but he had the force of eloquence; his tongue was not perſuaſive but commanding; its art was the ſimplicity of truth: when he ſpoke, it was not a plauſibility of addreſs, it was not a ſpecious ſhow of argument, or an appeal to the pathetic that drew the favour of the aſſembly; but a ſomething comprehenſive, intuitive, prophetic, a ſomething of genius that rivetted the attention, and on the ſelf-diffidence of the hearer raiſed an uncontroulable command; the minds of the audience were amazed and daunted into acquieſcence, even when not argued into conviction; and the artful rhetor forgot his act, and the opinionative were abaſhed before him! ſuch and like pre-eminence of character was fatal to the commonwealth of Athens: Miltiades prepared the way for Themiſtocles; Themiſtocles for Pericles: crouching to the ſucceſſive aſcendancy of their great men, the people were habitually brought to conſider their popular ſtate as dependant; and rather to confide their public weal to the abilities of a ſtateſman, than to the wiſdom of the conſtitution: they inſenſibly deviated from the ſound and ſimple principle of conduct adopted by their forefathers, and to a

Thucyd. L. 1. § 138. Plut. Vit. Themiſt. Corn. Nep. Vit. ejuſd. Diod. Sic. L. 11.

free progreſs in the ſtrait road of virtue, preferred a leading ſtring in the maze of politics: they were then often led to injuſtice, often bewildered in ruinous practices, often betrayed to bloody and uſeleſs expeditions; at length inured tō ſubſerviency, they were at times the means of glory and power to the ambitious, tools to the crafty, wealth to the avaricious, dangerous to good men, and a ſubterfuge to the criminal. We ſhall find other cauſes co-operate, but much of theſe evils is imputable to the aſcendancy of great men: let not the oſtraciſm be reprobated, for were it not for that weapon with which the leaders of the people buffetted and depreſſed each other, the republic of Athens had not long withſtood the meaneſt pretender to uſurpation.

THE people of Athens returning once more to their native ſoil, planned their new city on a larger and improved ſcale; the old port Phaleron ſeemed of too ſmall extent, and the foundations of a more commodious receptacle for their ſhipping were now laid at the Piræeus [85]; an arſenal and ſpacious mercantile quay were deſigned; and the city was to be ſurrounded with walls of an extraordinary height, and of a thickneſs that would admit two chariots to paſs on the ſummit, and the ſtones were to be rivetted with iron, and cemented with molten lead. The Spartans viewed with jealouſy and apprehenſion the progreſs of theſe mighty works; they remonſtrated againſt the policy of ſuch fortification, "might it not prove a place of arms for the Perſian?" againſt the injuſtice of it; "why diſtruſt their friends and "allies?" The Athenians anſwered not with their old faſhioned noble ſincerity; they truſted not to a fair parley, or to a brave defiance; they worked on under the cover of falſehoods and inſidious negotiation; they were perſuaded "*by their great man*" to trick, to evade, to trifle, to ſay and to unſay, and to prefer a low craftyhood to an honeſt appeal to the juſtice of the allies, or

Diod. Sic. L. 11. Juſtin. L. 2. C. 15. Thucyd. L. 1. § 90, & ſeq. Corn. Nep. Vit. Themiſt. Plut. Vit. ejuſd.

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to a reliance on their own force: Themiſtocles, in the ſiniſter means he took of rebuilding and ſtrengthening Athens, more effectually ſerved the dominion of Sparta, by corrupting the people, than he annoyed it, by fortifying the city: this was the firſt blow given to public virtue; the commonwealth ſhook to its very foundation, and a crevice was ever after open to matter of corroſive ſap, or of ſudden explóſion.

THE expedition of Xerxes, though ſucceſsleſs to the invader, was not the leſs fatal to Greece: the profuſion of gold and ſilver found in the Perſian camp after the battle of Platæa, and the inundation of wealth poured into the country from the ſeveral other victories, accelerated greatly the progreſs of particular accumulation, and of general luxury; private citizens became diſtinguiſhed, and ſoon diſtinguiſhable alone by their ſuperior opulence: Cimon, whoſe patrimony we are told was inſufficient to diſcharge his father's debt to the public, ſuddenly became poſſeſſed of ſo great wealth, that feaſting the commonalty of Athens was to him an ordinary expence.

Athenæ. L. 12. Corn. Nep. Vit. Cimon. Plut. Vit. ejuſd.

THE redemption of the captives too returned a prodigious ſum to the conquerors; and the multitude who were not ranſomed, taking the menial trades and ſervices from the citizens, taught them a fatal leſſon of indolence, pride, and overbearance. Other ſlaves were ſent to the ſilver mines in Attica, which although, according to Xenophon, worked from time immemorial, had hitherto been productive of a ſcanty revenue; but were now likely to be laboured with a toilſome aſſiduity that promiſed the moſt abundant returns. So many ſprings of corruption at once burſt the ſod! the ſluices they tore up, the ſtoppages they bore away, and channels they purſued, ſhall be delineated in their proper chart.

Plut. Vit. Cimon.

Xenoph. περὶ προσόδων.

SUCCESSFUL

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SUCCESSFUL in her defence, Greece in her turn brandiſhed the hoſtile ſword, and in the arrogance of triumph meditated new victories in the very heart of Aſia. Many of the Greek Colonies had come over during the conteſt; all were lukewarm to the Perſian cauſe, and had proved rather an encumbrance than ſupport to the armaments they had been enliſted into; to protect theſe provinces, and ſave them from the vengeance of Xerxes, was the oſtenſible and indeed a juſt reaſon for ſtill protracting the war; but the avidity of glory, as of wealth, encreaſes with acquiſition, and motives of ambition and avarice probably lurked beneath the ſemblance of diſintereſted bravery and beneficence: artful policy characteriſed the immediate conduct of the Athenians towards theſe people, and warrants the remark. Leotychides and Xantippus had perſuaded the Aſiatic colonies to quit for ever the coaſts of Caria and reſort to Greece, where they tendered them ſuch ſettlements, as the territories confiſcated from the Greek ſtates who had ſided with the Perſian, might open to their diſpoſal; but the Athenians diſavowed the proffer of their generals, and diſſuaded the Ionians from indulging any ideas of ſuch return to their original country: it ſeems not to have ſuited with ſchemes of conqueſt, to ſubſtitute in the neighbouring diſtricts a meritorious people whom it were baſe to attack, and from their common alliance impracticable to ſubdue, for nations, the objects of general ſtigma and perſecution, and whom under plea of the public cauſe, the Athenians might proceed againſt without interruption, and diſpoſſeſs of their wealth and independancy in favour of their own views of accumulation and dominion. The leading ſtates which had abetted the Perſian invaſion, were the Theſſalians, Thebans, and Argives; to proſcribe and expel theſe people their reſpective ſeats in the Amphyctionic, or great council of Greece, was a propoſal of the Spartans; on this queſtion the Athenian repreſentative oppoſed the expulſion; this apparent duplicity was the reſult of the ſame

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

Plut. Vit. Themiſt.

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ſyſtem: it was neceſſary to obviate the too great influence of Sparta, which might accrue from the weights in the counteracting ſcale being thus diminiſhed; and in default of advantages from preſent war, and at a due criſis,—the voices of the people, whoſe rights were thus preſerved, might be gained over to thoſe who had been inſtrumental in preſerving them. Miniſterial management thus early diſplayed even its refinements in the offices of Themiſtocles, and other Athenian demagogues.

Thucyd. L. 1. S. 95.

THE Spartans had hitherto kept the lead in the confederacy, Pauſanias their king was ſtill veſted with the ſupreme command, and ſtill the allies collectively ſubmitted to a military juriſdiction; but now theſe powers were to paſs over to Athens.

Ariſtotl. Polit. L. 2. C. 7. & L. 7. C. 14. Plut. Vit. Lycurg. Xenoph. Lac. Pol.

THE education of the Lacedæmonian youth pretended leſs to teach them than to confine them to the beſt road; to fix them in a ſingular walk of virtue guarded by dæmons and bugbears, wherein they were goaded on by ſhame and pride, and frightened with whips and maſks on the minuteſt tendency to linger or to deviate, till in fine, habit hardened or conciliated their minds to the rugged way [86]. This inſtitution however ſo much outraged nature, and ſo much infringed her original claims to various temperature of paſſion and of mind, that the legiſlator foreſaw ſhe muſt ever be on the watch to aſſert her rights, and invalidate his ſyſtem; it was his policy therefore to leave as little inroad to her as poſſible, and to cut off all connexion with thoſe, whoſe examples might too amiably enforce her intereſts and cauſe: Lycurgus permitted no ſtrangers to ſojourn in his city, nor his citizens to travel into ſtrange countries; even war was forbidden to be often waged with the ſame people, as from a too familiar view of foreign manners, being a corruptive intercourſe; the apprehenſion of teaching the enemy, I think, miſtakenly attributed as his motive, for the Spartans knew leſs of the *arts* of

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

war

war than any of the Greeks: at the inveſtment of the Helots in Ithomæ the Spartans avowedly called in the Athenians to aſſiſt, not being themſelves expert in the conduct of a ſiege. Indeed, in bounty to mankind, Lycurgus, having adopted ſuch a ſcheme of government, could not do leſs than ſtudy its immaculate continuance; for having treated men as wild beaſts, he had made them ſo; his plan was to chain, and not to humanize; and the looſening of the fetter might be equally fatal to his people, and to their neighbours.

THE duration and commerce of the Perſian war had ſerved much to relax the Spartan ſeverity, and having tranſgreſſed the ſtrict letter of their diſcipline, they had no juſt theory of ethics whence to redreſs the evil; and they ruſhed headlong into every kind of barbarous inſolence, and unpoliſhed debauchery. Thucyd. L. 1.

THE allies beheld the conduct of Pauſanias and his followers with indignation, and one by one they withdrew from his command, and ſubmitted themſelves to the generalſhip of Cimon and Ariſtides. The Ephori ſaw their inſtitution in danger, and for the preſent waving all other conſiderations, ſullenly acquieſced in the ſupremacy of Athens. Plut. Vit. Cimon. Iſocrat. Panath.

A FIXED eſtabliſhment of proportional ſubſidies was deemed a neceſſary meaſure previous to any new expedition, and the Athenians were permitted to commence their adminiſtration, with aſſuming the very important authority of fixing, collecting, and managing the quota of each membercity of the confederacy: this truſt we are told was executed by Ariſtides with a ſtrict faith and impartiality, which gave new aſcendancy to him and to his country; but the courſe of ſuch power was corruptive and ruinous, and the diveſtment thereof difficult, as the continuance dangerous. Juſtin. L. 3. C. 6. Thucyd. L. 1. Corn. Nep. Vit. Ariſtid. Plut. Vit. ejuſd.

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THE ill-policy indeed of confiding the ſole conduct of the levies to any ſingle ſtate ſeems ſo very obvious, that a curious reader might requeſt a nicer ſearch into this ſingular matter: it will be obſerved (as it indeed proved) that a power thus repoſed, indefinite in extent as in duration, was virtually perpetual and deſpotic; for, could the period of its authority be queſtioned whilſt that authority was in full force? or its force be ſafely excepted to, when its expiration was not at hand? ſubmiſſion to ſuch power was in time likely to become ſervitude, and diſſenſion at all times to bear the mien of hoſtility: it was probable that the party repoſed in, progreſſively would admit the ſole alternative of conſtant ſervice, or of virulent enmity. Conſidering the facility of obviating ſo fatal conſequences, by the ſimple eſtabliſhment of a council or committee of the ſeveral ſtates, it is difficult to account for their coinciding in ſo deſtructive a meaſure:—perhaps, dazzled by a ſucceſſive and rapid courſe of conqueſt, they gave not leiſure to political conſideration; but blindly adopted what ſeemed readieſt for the preſent purpoſe, and made choice of a ſole and uncontroulable command as beſt ſuited to war, little provident that its conſequences might extend to times of peace.

Thucyd. L. 1.

FROM this period the conduct of the Athenians at home and abroad wore a new aſpect, was founded on new principles of government, and modelled to a new ſyſtem of politics: of theſe I ſhall treat apart.

THE completion of the war with Perſia was hereafter involved with a ſeries of local intereſts and inteſtine commotions; ſo far, however, it may be proper to anticipate events and clear our way, as to note the concluſion of hoſtilities with the common enemy: this thread of hiſtory indeed runs but lightly through the web, which ſimply ſpotted with the victories over the Perſian

Plut. Vit. Cimon. Thucyd. L. 1.

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sian at Eurymedon and Cyprus, is every where interwoven with the varieties of national party, usurpation, and quarrel: the victories at Cyprus and Eurymedon closed the contest with Xerxes; and the Persian sent a submissive embassy to Athens, imploring peace: The terms concluded were as glorious and beneficial to Athens and its allies, as humiliating to the common aggressor:

Front. Stratag. L. 4. C. 7.

"The Greek colonies in Caria and other parts were declared free "and independant states; no satrap was to set foot within three "days journey of the sea on the Asiatic coast, or within the river "Halys (according to Isocrates) and no Persian vessel of force "was to appear on the seas from Phaselis to Cyanea, nor was "there a reciprocative condition on the part of the Greeks, but "that they were to desist from hostility with Persia."

Diod. Sic. L. 12. Isocrat. Orat. Areopag.

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OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HAPPINESS NATIONAL AND PRIVATE —OF CONQUEST—OF THE ACQUISITIONS AND POWER OF ATHENS.

WHERE is happineſs to be found? the man of power who ſhines the ſun of his little ſphere, whoſe every nod is obeyed, and every folly flattered, ſtill reſtleſs and ill-contented, puſhes forward to new ſchemes of happineſs, and riſques his all in purſuit of ſome untaſted acquiſition: the wealthy, whoſe every wiſh is anticipated by gratification, ſeems not more bleſt in his peculiar lot, but peeviſhly complains of ſatiety, and liſtens with attention to the viſionary talker of woods and rocks, and the felicity of a rural ſolitude: aſk the hermit "if retire-"ment can afford the promiſed bliſs?" from pride he will perhaps affirm ſo; but in terms of miſanthropy and diſcontent, which ſurely evince the folly of the aſſertion!

Happineſs is no where to be found, but every where to be ſought for. The huntſman lays his account of pleaſure, not in the capture, but in the chace of the game; ſo the greater objects of human attachment intereſt in the purſuit, and ſoon give diſreliſh in the tranquillity of poſſeſſion. The elaſtic ether which vibrates, or which flows in the channels of the nerves, and inſpirits the maſs of the brain, requires motion and expenditure, not to ſtagnate in torpid compreſſure, load the blood, and thicken the humours, till the habit is replete with horrors and with melancholy.

DIVINELY

DIVINELY is it thus inſtituted, that the activity of our faculties ſhould conſtitute our happineſs, whilſt what bleſſes the individual, enriches the ſpecies; and the purſuit, which gives pleaſure to each, tends to ſome acquiſition productive of further diſtinctions to humanity, and elevating it more and more in the ſyſtem of which it makes it a part.

FROM motion comes enjoyment; hence, the rich man would be richer, the great man greater; and all would add to, or change ſomething to-morrow, of what they poſſeſs to-day: hence the deſpot would ſtill ſubject one province more; the tear of Alexander, that there were no more worlds to conquer, belongs to every human eye in the private circle of difficulties ſurmounted or ſubdued; the final conqueſt is pleaſureable only in expectation; to the harraſſed veteran it may indeed be optionable;—but to provoke reſt in the brightneſs of the day, is to expoſe the impatient mind to uneaſy ſleeps and painful dreams.

SYLLA enjoyed the energy of contention, but found the object thereof not worth retaining; and Cæſar, long harraſſed by foreign wars, and newly eſcaped from civil broils, perceived eaſe to be incompatible with his happineſs, and at the hour of his death was meditating on the extremes of Parthia as new ſcenes of conqueſt, and a new means of felicity to reſult from the ardour of his ſpirit. Why are we tenacious of liberty, but becauſe it gives an open field to that exertion of our minds and bodies, whence alone pleaſure can proceed? Whether they are employed in tracking a wild beaſt, or in exploring a ſyſtem, the pleaſure is derivative from the ſame ſource, and reſtriction to the man who has once taſted it, is ſurely worſe than death!

THE diſcontented ſpirit of mankind, ſo often and ſo much reprobated by every trifler in metaphyſics, is then found to be

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conſiſtent with their happineſs, and neceſſary to their improvement; nor is the mental inquietude of all, or particular ambition of the great, fit ſubject of contempt to the ſage, or of his wonder or commiſeration.

Such is the recondite principle of that ardour for acquiſition which impels an individual to gain, and a ſtate to conquer; and particularly ſuch ſtates as admit, from their conſtitution of government, of individuals poſſeſſing in greater numbers a more direct and more powerful political influence; and it may be ſhown, that the effect of ſuch influence, in its brighteſt career of victories and glory, is ſubverſive of a free commonwealth, and co-operating, with other ſeeds of diſſolution, to a change of government, and ruin of the country.

The reſtleſs ſpirit, above deſcribed, urging each to that exertion which his bent of mind moſt readily applies to, will, under a monarchic, or the controul of other reſtrictive government, of neceſſity expend itſelf in art or ſcience, or in ſomething, which without moleſtation of any, may turn to the account of all; but in a free ſtate, each individual, having ſome ſhare in the political concern, is likely to prefer that peculiar field of exerciſe to his mind, and in proportion to its ſpirit and vigour, may progreſſively in his active courſe overleap the bounds of preſcriptive order and ſafe adminiſtration. In a monarchy every ſituation is open but one: the viſionary may purſue honours with as little detriment to the community, as the merchant his trade, or man of learning ſcience, or man of genius art: but in a commonwealth a particular ſite is allotted to each *on one level*; and the general arrangement is endangered when any would deviate from their fixed place in queſt of undue conſideration or aſcendancy. It is only in times of commotion, or by commotion, that at any rate the deſire of extraordinary elevation can effect its purpoſe; and

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and hence, in the great book of experience we find the hiſtories of a republican people more frequently and more ſtrongly marked by epochs of inteſtine tumult, and of foreign wars; the latter ſeem the happier ſide of the alternative; yet from the moment conqueſt is the object of its policy, the exiſtence of the commonwealth is coeval only with the courſe of its victories. Grant that it conquer without loſs of people or diminution of funds; ſuppoſe the leaders to be actuated by none but public ambition, and that they return to their private occupation and rank without murmur and without party; ſuppoſe every favourable circumſtance, even to a paradox: — the ſucceſsful war has added ſome city or ſome province; and will not ſuch acceſſion be the ruin of the capitol? I will yet wave the courſe of luxurious pride concomitant to national felicity; I will confine my reaſoning to the peculiarities of a republican ſovereignty: this city, this province, how is it to be governed? ſays Tacitus, "*quid aliud exitio Athenienſibus fuit, quanquam armis pollerent,* "*niſi quod ſubjectos pro alienigenis arcerent?*" but the contrary policy, were it not equally dangerous? allow the conquered people the rights of denizons; let them in their reſpective cities partake the free conſtitution of the ſuperiour ſtate: if not partaken in an equal degree, the reſult of what has been granted, is in the courſe of things a requiſition of what has *not* been granted; if in an equal degree, but with a reſerve of ſupremacy in points of war, of peace, of revenue, and of regulations of dominion,—with the form of government, will they not imbibe the high ſpirit and force which diſtinguiſh the donors? will they not, as they ſavour liberty, diſreliſh command? the tree by natural growth raiſed above the ſhrub that ſheltered its tender and firſt ſhoots, will it not cruſh it with the exuberance of its branches, exhauſt its ſources, and poiſon its head? The wary politician would in anſwer obſerve, that a contrary demeanour were of equally deſtructive tendency: a coercive and abſolute command

Tacit. ann. 11.

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over a province annexed to the dominion of a free ſtate, muſt form a contraſt productive of diſcontent, and every ill conſequence hinted at in the words of the hiſtorian; what was gained by force muſt be retained by ſimilar means, and in times of trouble will be found not an acceſſion to, but encumbrance on the republic: it may be added, that the armies and garriſons neceſſary to conſtrain ſuch province, are dangerous to the virtue and liberty of their employers; and that citizens of the ſuperiour ſtate, [87] entruſted with a command foreign to the ſpirit of their own conſtitution, will grow tainted by the examples of ſubſerviency and habitudes of power, and return to corrupt the principles of their countrymen, and to innovate on the commonwealth.

Machiav. Diſc. L. 2. C. 4.

We muſt conclude then that extenſive conqueſts are deſtructive to the people whoſe form of government approaches to the free or democratic; and that among the principles of their decline is that inſtinctive activity, puſhing on to acquiſitions dangerous to, and corruptive of the poſſeſſors.

On a review of the particular ſituation of Athens, from the caſualties of the Perſian war, and from the ill policy of the allies; it is yet not to be wondered at, that the leaders were influenced, or people miſlead, to a deſtructive ſyſtem of inſatiable conqueſt: opportunity courted them with an ever preſent and aſſiduous ſmile; the advantages ſeemed great as they were preſent and obvious; the dangers were out of ſight, or ſeemed viſionary, as they were diſtant and obſcure.

Juſtin. L. 3. C. 6. Thucyd. L. 1. § 95. & ſeq.

The annual ſubſidy entruſted to the adminiſtration of the Athenians amounted to four hundred and ſixty talents, and from that, and other reſources, ten thouſand talents had gradually been amaſſed; Delos indeed was the place appointed for the depoſit, but the treaſurer was choſen and reſident at Athens, and his diſpoſal

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poſal of theſe funds was unaccounted for to the other ſtates of the league. Not leſs firm was the ſovereignty over the perſons, than over the fortunes of the allies, whilſt the military authority of Cimon was ſtrengthened by the affection and gratitude of the Aſiatic and other Greeks whom he freed, whom he reſcued, or whom he pardoned.

Plut. Vit. Cimon. Diod. Sic. L. 11.

THE city rebuilt on a new plan, and the fortifications erected on an improved and larger ſcale, gave an eaſe and ſecurity to the inhabitants, wherein ingenuity found leiſure for new acts of hoſtility and defence; whilſt the Piræeus was crowded with artiſicers, whom experience as ſeamen had taught juſtly to eſtimate their work as ſhipbuilders, and to add to, or alter their mechaniſm from circumſtantial recollection of deficiency or inconvenience. To their complement of fleet, twenty ſhips were added by Themiſtocles, and daily it was encreaſing: gold and ſilver abounded in the city: the captives were numerous, and the rich feared not to truſt the menial arts, and their domeſtic concerns, to the hands of ſlaves; whilſt the citizens, whoſe fortunes were yet to make, gave up the hammer for the ſword, or the plough for the oar: eaſy was it to inſpirit theſe greedy adventurers, and eager were the demagogues to uſe their influence, embarked in the ſame purſuit of wealth, and urged by ſuperior queſt of glory.

Ibid.

Plut. Vit. Themiſt.

AMBITION is but a prouder ſpecies of avarice; gain equally produces deſire; poſſeſſion is equally wide of content; for as the object is, nor in the one, nor in the other caſe, enjoyed, it cannot ſatiate: having received much, the Athenians ſoon learnt to demand more; and the criſis co-operating with their wiſhes, from an irregular and capricious exaction, they progreſſively adopted a fixed ſcheme of conqueſt, and a concerted ſyſtem of command. No longer inſecure in their domeſtic concerns, many of the petty ſtates grew tired of diſtant campaigns,

Thucyd. L. 1. § 99. & ſeq. Diod. Sic. L. 11. & 12.

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paigns, and were desirous of repairing the ravages of war by assiduous attention to the arts of peace; to such the Athenians permitted the wished-for retirement, provided that for the deficiency of men, they proportionally added to the pecuniary and naval subsidies; the ships they manned with their own citizens, and the monies they applied to the ornament of their city, or reserved it for future exigencies; and thus the nation became warlike, and the state wealthy. Others, equally ill-satisfied with the continuance of hostilities, but more acute in penetrating the policy, and more bold in preventing the designs of the Athenians, harangued in the haughty tone of opposition, and seceded from their command; but the prior attachment of many, and the concessions of other cities had rendered such attempt nugatory, and at this crisis more fatal to the liberties of Greece than even acquiescence; for each refractory state, subdued under the pretext of delegated authority, became an accession to the particular dominion of Athens, and was itself the means of a more absolute exercise, and of a wider extent of power: thus the superiority at sea was strengthened by the conquests of Ægina and Eubæa, and thus the contumacy of the Thasians afforded pretence for the seizure of their gold mines, and but served to encrease the funds of the already too powerfulre public.

Plut. Vit. Periclis. ejusd. Vit. Cimonis. Thucyd. L. 1. Diodor. Sic. L. 11. & 12.

VOLUNTARY subsidies to the general depositfoon became the grounds of imperious exaction, nor was the controul long confined merely to subjects of common revenue; thence arose the necessity of regulation; and, on the grounds of regulation, thence issued from Athenian generals, and from Athenian assemblies, military orders and popular decrees, affecting the independancy of each inferior state in alliance; till finally, on precedent and on habit, the sovereignty of Athens became so strongly entrenched, that many of the petty republics deemed it expedient to negotiate terms of surrender, and their compromise legitimated

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gitimated the poſſeſſion. Nor did the Athenians reſt ſatisfied with the flux of dominion which the nature of their command drew within its own proper channel, and then directed in a courſe ſubordinate to their commonwealth: but they ſought every occaſion of diſpute as means of acquiſition; and when diſcontent could not even coin a pretext for hoſtility, by holding forth a treacherous protection to each free city, they found in its inteſtine commotions new means of uſurpation, and in its foreign quarrels new ſubject of conqueſt: the Megarenſes applied for the aid of the Athenians againſt Corinth, and the conſequence was the ſtationing of an Athenian guard in the citadel of Megara; the Mileſians required aſſiſtance againſt Samos, and the reſult of the alliance with Miletus was the poſſeſſion of Samos. Whenever ſome ill-judging city thus called in their aid, gratitude at leaſt demanded an acquieſcence in the Athenian policy of ſending their own ſupernumeraries, to inhabit part of the conquered or ceded territory; and too late ſuch colony was found to be an ever-encroaching neighbour, and in times of trouble an authoritative garriſon. This mode of colonization was a favourite policy of Athenian adminiſtration, and not reſtricted to countries they were in treaty or at variance with, but by a cautious foreſight was extended to every remote ſpot, whereto the courſe of victory might direct their intereſts or deſigns: Pericles expedited a number of emigrants who ſeized the country of the Sybarites, and under the appellation of Thurii, even in Italy, eſtabliſhed a ſettlement mindful of the Athenian authority and name: theſe, if not effective of ſubordination in the adjacent parts through power, might at leaſt conciliate their neighbours by attention and favour; and thus every way ſome force accrued to the original republic from the meaſure; for, to attack powerful allies, was another maſter point in the Athenian councils: with this view the pretenſions of Inarus to the Ægyptian dynaſty, were, during ſix years, ſupported againſt the Perſian; and with this

Diodor. Sic. L. 12. Thucyd. L. 1.

Plut. Vit. Periclis. Thucyd. § 1.

Iſocrat. Paneg. Diod. Sic. L. 12.

Cteſias in Perſic. Thucyd. L. 1. § 111.

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this view an attempt was made to reinſtate Oreſtes in the throne of Theſſaly.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

THE ſtill keeping up the claim to arbitrary taxation, under pretence that the Perſian was meditating a renewal of hoſtilities; the encreaſe of the aſſeſſment from four hundred and fifty to ſix hundred talents; the removal of the public bank from Delos to Athens; and the various ſteps above cited tending to uncontrolable power, might well be ſuppoſed to rouſe the attention of Sparta, and the other great republics of Greece. The firſt important ſtate that coped with the Athenian arms was the Bœotian; but in vain it would oppoſe their progreſs; Myronides over-ran and ſubdued the whole country to the very walls of Thebes. Corinth, and many other great cities, entered at diſadvantage into the conflict, whilſt Athens, holding forth an inſidious welcome to every factious tributary of any other ſtate, diveſted it gradually of its ſtrength, and contraſted freſh vigour with its decline. The Lacedæmonians would willingly have interpoſed, but the deſtruction of their city by an earthquake, and the deſolation of their country by the rebellious Helots, kept them too fully employed to give any effectual rebuff to the career of their rivals; nay, they were even reduced to ſolicit their aſſiſtance to forward the ſiege of Ithomæe, where the inſurgents had taken refuge; no ſooner was the reinforcement arrived, but from ſome ſuſpicion it was refuſed and ſent back, and Athens, diſguſted at the inſult, publicly diſclaimed all future friendſhip with Sparta. Armies then came from Sparta, with intent to ſuccour the oppreſſed, and circumſcribe the encroachments of this growing power; but of a force truly rather calculated to irritate than to quell the enterprizing ſpirit of the Athenians; nor did they act as principals in any war, but aſſiſted occaſionally an ally, then made a truce, and then aſſiſted another.

Diodor. Sic. L. 11. Thucyd. L. 1.

Plut. Vit. Cimon. Pauſan. in Att. Thucyd. L. 1. § 188.

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In the various conteſts for power, it is not to be underſtood that there were no viciſſitudes of victory: after ſix years employed to ſupport the pretenſions of Inarus in Ægypt, the fleet of Athens on that ſervice was wholly deſtroyed;—joining the Phocians in their war with the Dorians ſupported by Sparta, the Athenians loſt many brave citizens at the bloody but indeciſive battle of Tanagra;—at Oenophyra they beat the Corinthians;—in the conteſt for the care of the oracular temple, or holy war, when Sparta, ſiding with the Delphians, had veſted them with the ſacred truſt, the Athenians ouſted again the Delphians and reſtored that honour to the Phocians;—finally at Coronea they ſuffered an entire defeat from the forces of Bœotia, and, in ranſom for the priſoners then taken, were obliged to emancipate every city tributary to them within that diſtrict, or reſtore them to the juriſdiction of Thebes. This was the moſt important check given to the career of Athenian greatneſs; yet was it not of moment; for the power of Athens was never doomed to grow great and ſpread on inland ſovereignty: it was ſuited rather to diffuſe itſelf on coaſts and on iſlands. Some cities indeed had been taken, and ſome territories colonized by the Athenians in Thrace, in Theſſaly and Upper Greece; but their empire ſpread more ſurely and more firmly on the maritime countries of the Cherſoneſe, of the Helleſpont, and of Aſia Minor; and over-ran the iſlands of Ægina, Eubæa, Lemnos, Samos, Zacynthus, and others. The iſles of the Ægean were indeed generally ſubordinate to the power which had the greater force at ſea; and each having its portion of marine ſtores and armament, thus fed and encreaſed the naval power, which was ſo dangerous to the liberties of a country ſo maritime as Greece: the force of this remark appears when adverting to the expeditions of Tolmides and of Pericles, who, ſucceſſively, during theſe conteſts, and in retaliation of the Spartan interpoſition, ſailed round the Pelo-

Diod. Sic. § 11.

Thucyd. L. 1. § 188. Diodor. Sic. L. 11.

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 2. Strab. lib. 8. & 9. Diod. Sic. L. 11. & 12. Plut. Vit. Periclis.

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ponneſe, and at various deſcents burnt its cities and deſolated the country.

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

MUTUAL neceſſities at length compaſſed a general ceſſation of hoſtility; the Thebans and Bœotians had fully accompliſhed the purpoſe of a defenſive war, preſerving entire their territory and independance, and moreover their rights, as ſtates of Greece, to a voice in the Amphyctionic council: the Spartans required ſome reſpite from the fatigues of war with the Meſſenians, with the Helots, and with Athens: and Athens required leiſure to methodize the wide extended rule ſhe, from good fortune, valour and policy, had acquired. The new and complicated intereſts of theſe and other ſtates, ſeem, however, to have thrown too many difficulties in the way of ſpecific terms of peace; and to avoid the detail of, perhaps impracticable, conditions, the miniſters, Chares for Athens, and Charondas for the allies, ſigned a truce for thirty years: but as Juſtin obſerves, "*tam longum otium inimicitiæ non tulerunt.*

Thucyd. L. 1.

Juſtin. L. 3. C. 7.

IN mentioning the reduction of Samos I have by ſix years anticipated the event, in order to bring the acquiſitions and power of Athens into one point of view: nine years further enſued ere the hoſtilities commenced, which have afforded matter for the pen of Thucydides; and during theſe periods, manners, genius, commerce, policy, and liberal arts, made ſuch ſpeedy and excellent attainments, as lead me with ardour and delight to a conſideration of thoſe intereſting ſubjects.

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OF THE MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE, AND OF THE STATE OF THE REPUBLIC AT THE CLOSE OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

WE are now arrived at the period of hiſtory when the republic of Athens had reached its ſummit of power and dominion, and at the ſame time had attained the means of government, adequate to its extent and neceſſities: *the ſtate* was become moſt wealthy; its people were become numerous and inured to war, and from the habits of a naval war were become bold and expert on the ſeas, and ſuited to the purpoſes and enterprize of trade: its citizens were become verſed in public buſineſs, whether touching exterior policy or domeſtic management;—its ſtateſmen and military leaders were experienced in each department; and its vigour was yet hitherto unimpaired by corruption, and its conſtitution unbroken by popular frenzy, or by the intrigues which individuals, diſtinguiſhed by riches or ability, might be ſuppoſed to create. The inſtitutions which provided againſt the dangers to be apprehended from ſuch deſcription of men, had been cautiouſly enforced; and Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Ariſtides, had been baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm. The exile of Ariſtides *the juſt*, hath ſuggeſted ſubject of ſympathetic declamation and ill-timed reproach on this juriſdiction to Plutarch and others;—but Ariſtides was a man moſt dangerous to the commonwealth; others had their ambition, their plot, and their party; but *he* ſought to make a party of the people againſt their conſtitution: it was he who moved decrees repeatedly extending their power and privileges, breaking in upon the wiſe and diſtinctive regulations of Solon, levelling the

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degrees of Cenſus, and opening even the archonſhip to the citizens at large: his baniſhment was a proof of their virtue; that of the profuſe Cimon, of their moderation; that of Themiſtocles, of their wiſdom.

At this height or acmè of the republic, it affords an object which, in the deſign of this treatiſe, ſhould fix our particular attention, ere we proceed to the further inveſtigation of its hiſtory: in the future courſe of that hiſtory each conſequence will thus more obviouſly, and forcibly appear as connected with its ſpecial cauſe; and effects diſtinguiſhing this epoch, being at the ſame time aſſigned back to the circumſtances whence they originated, we ſhall ſeem here to ſeize a vantage-ground, whence we may, through the joint medium of experience and ſpeculation, view the whole courſe of the republic.

On the emancipation of Athens from the power of the Piſiſtratidæ, the energy which that ſtate immediately diſplayed, is to be placed much to the account of the ſpirit of the conſtitution it then adopted; infuſing, with the ſelf-confidence which each citizen derived from his ſhare in a free commonwealth, the patriotiſm which moderates, aſſimilates, and unites the paſſions, the reaſon, and the force of a whole people. Hence the determined ſpirit which fruſtrated every inſidious and every open attack! hence the ſucceſsful reſiſtance to the hoſtile jealouſy of the Peloponneſe! and hence, in the field of Marathon, that firmneſs, the effect of an union of minds and intereſts, which no numbers could ſubdue! Reaſons deduced from the nature of its government, conſidered excluſively, are applicable only to the defenſive force of Athens; the extenſion of its acquirements and views in point of ſovereignty, is to be ſought in the further conſideration of natural as well as political advantages, which combined to elevate the republic to the height which it progreſſively attained

attained in the ſhort ſpace of thirty-five years, from the flight of Xerxes, to the truce with Sparta. CHAP. XV.

XENOPHON, in his treatiſe on revenue, enumerates, amongſt the natural advantages of Attica, its ſilver mines, its quarries of marble, its temperate climate, and its extraordinary fertility; but its central ſituation in reſpect to Greece, to the iſlands of the Ægean, and to Aſia, to the Helleſpont, and to Ægypt, and its commodious havens open to every wind from every quarter, were advantages which tranſcended thoſe of produce and local wealth in the ſcale of nations. Hence Athens was the general reſort of the traders of every country, and the common emporium of the known world;—where alone the barter was not *in kind*, but money the *certain* medium of traffic, and where all "that was delicious in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Ægypt, Lydia, or in Pontus, "was in greater excellence and with more certainty to be "purchaſed than in the reſpective countries;" ſays Iſocrates, "what in each is moſt difficult to be attained, is here to be found "in common with other rarities expoſed at open market." To this trade, in its generality excluſive, Xenophon adds the monopoly of naval ſtores, ſolely and in itſelf the ſource of every other, and of power as well as of wealth. From the commercial habits of the Athenians aroſe that turn to navigation, and experience in marine concerns, which under Themiſtocles gave them the lead, and oppoſed them to the Phœnicians in the great conflict of Salamis; and afterwards, from the confidence which their conduct in naval affairs had juſtly inſpired, veſted in them the empire of the ſeas, by the general and free [88] ſuffrage of their countrymen. The uſe they made of this delegated power was the obvious reſult of a command ſo unbounded, and ſo new to themſelves, as well as to thoſe who ſubmitted to them; and aroſe naturally from the ordinary paſſions of men, and from the circumſtances of the times: the means of acquiring wealth and power

Iſocrat. Panath.

Xenoph. περὶ προσόδων. C. 3. § 2.

Xen. Pol. Ath. C. 2. § 2.

Iſocrat. Paneg.

Xen. Pol. Ath. C. 2. § 11. & 12.

Herodot. Uran.

Iſocrat. Paneg.

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power being put into their hands, the Athenians availed themſelves of thoſe means; having been made quæſtors of Greece, they continued quæſtors on their own account; having been conſtituted admirals of Greece, the tendency of ſuch authority was to perpetuate itſelf into a ſovereignty over all the maritime ſtates; and each progreſs in its career, whether it were the capture of a ſhip or of an iſland, diffuſed and ſtrengthened at once the inclination and the powers, to convert a temporary rule into an eſtabliſhed dominion. When Xenophon ſays, that "of all "ſtates, [89] Athens flouriſhed moſt in times of peace;" it is in a general and commercial view that he regards the ſubject, for his inſtance was an exception.

Thucyd. L. 1.

Xenoph. περὶ προσόδων. C. 4 § 2.

Diod. Sic. L. 14.

CIMON added to the navy and trade of Athens three hundred and forty veſſels, and the twenty thouſand ſlaves, and the wealth, himſelf and others brought into the city, ſerved to freight and equip theſe ſhips, and extend the views of the merchant, as well as the naval force of the ſtate; whilſt the ſubſidies becoming a mere tribute ſwelled the ordinary revenues of the republic. The reſources too, which it acquired by extending its dominion and intereſts, through the colonizing thoſe territories ravaged and depopulated during the war, with its poorer citizens, and with the adventurers who had ſought Athens as the ſeat of enterprize, and with thoſe who had ſought it as the refuge from tyranny, and aſylum of the oppreſſed or unfortunate; are to be placed to the ſimilar account of its navy; which facilitated diſtant expeditions, the conveyance to a ſettlement, and the protection of the colony. Iſocrates, in his famous oration *de pace*, has expatiated on the miſchiefs and ruin attending a dominion of the ſeas, its corruptive courſe [90], its ſhort-lived career, and the private vices and political evils that enſue, and deſtroy the ſtate which has poſſeſſed it: yet he allows, and it forms part of the example which he has adduced, that ſuch power quickly raiſes and

Iſocrat. Orat. περὶ εἰρήνης.

and extends, though finally it depraves a ſtate, and then ſubverts itſelf: for our preſent purpoſe the prior inference is ſufficient; it aggrandized the republic of Athens, and at the cloſe of the Perſian wars, and conteſts between the Greeks which immediately followed, raiſed it to ſuch a height, as warranted the Corinthian delegate to aſſert in the face of Greece, "that the "power of Athens was equal to that of them all." Thucyd. L. 1. CHAP. XV.

THUCYDIDES, in his firſt book, laments that in his time there was no writer but Hellanicus, who filled up, and that but curſorily, the period of hiſtory from the Perſian war to the times he undertook *to perpetuate:* this period of fifty years himſelf as curſorily fills up, and Plutarch and Diodorus ſeem to have poſſeſſed few materials more than what Thucydides afforded them; for I place to little political account, the anecdotes and apothegms of the former: yet in regard to external intercourſe, and to the immediate events which led to the aggrandiſement of Athens, the data of hiſtory may ſuffice to the purpoſe of our enquiry:—but here I could have wiſhed to reſt, and to have followed our republic ſtep by ſtep, in its career of *civil conduct*, as well as of foreign enterprize; for it is to the characteriſtics of theſe times,—it is to this ſtationary point to which conſideration muſt revert,—in ſearch for the immediate cauſes which accelerate the decline of the Athenian, and every other free ſtate, when lapſed beyond that pinnacle of ſplendid elevation, whence the deſcent is rapid in proportion to the height of freedom and force previouſly attained.—This as a landmark in hiſtory ſhould be rendered clear and conſpicuous, as at once the eminence whence political ſpeculation may ſet forth with advantage, and the ſcope to which it may recur, when tracing back the courſe of republican diſſolution from the vale of depravity and ſervitude.—On theſe accounts the moſt accurate and circumſtantial inveſtigation is now deſirable; but whatever regards domeſtic manners and in- Ibid.

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ternal adminiſtration in theſe diſtant times, is elucidated by too curſory or too doubtful authorities: the vague alluſions of Plato and Ariſtotle, the brief remarks of the antiquarian Pauſanias and geographer Strabo, and the hyperboles of the orators, and particularly of Iſocrates and the funeral encomiaſts (whoſe buſineſs it was to laud the paſt and diſpraiſe the preſent) afford data of enquiry ſo imperfect, or ſo little to be confided in, that in eſtimating the effect of progreſſive wealth and dominion on the conſtitution of the commonwealth, and on the morals of the people of Athens, much is left to ſpeculation;—much is to be deduced from ſuch trivial grounds of matter, or from ſuch collateral matter as time hath left us; and all that becomes us, is to be wary;—and adapting general concluſions to the partial recital of an imperfect ſeries, that we connect each link of the chain, with the ſtricteſt regard to political analogy and experience.

Iſocrat. orat. Areopag.

THE conſtitution of the commonwealth and morals of the people I complicate together; in no ſtate can they be ſeparated; ſo true is the axiom of Iſocrates, that not decrees, [91] but manners, ſpeak the conſtitution of government; or in other words, not laws, but the obedience which is payed to them.

CONSIDERING the commonwealth as inſtituted by Solon, and as re-eſtabliſhed by Cliſtthenes, it hath been obſerved that whatever general denomination may have been given to its form of government, undoubtedly the larger maſs of the people had but little influence and authority, though they were in poſſeſſion of general freedom and privileges: opulence, however regulated by agrarian and ſumptuary laws, and pretenſions of family, however obliterated by general and equal claims under the ſpirit of the conſtitution, ſeparated the noble and wealthy few from the many, who neceſſitated to ſeek ſubſiſtence from the menial arts, were contented to forego public occupation and conſequence; and from

from the bent and habits of life coincided with the intentions of their legiſlator to entruſt the great functions of ſtate excluſively to thoſe, from whom the exacted qualification of property warranted a more perfect ſenſe of reſponſibility: nor did this forbearance imply a diſregard of the commonwealth, whilſt that reſponſibility was to the people at large.

At the period we are now arrived at, ſuch moderation could no longer be ſuppoſed to diſtinguiſh the commonalty, whom the circumſtances of the times had approximated to the higher claſſes, (or rather had mingled all claſſes together,) whilſt the Perſian wars ſtamped with honour every name inſcribed on the trophy of Marathon; and whilſt the ſpoils of Salamis and Platæa devolved hereditary opulence on the family of almoſt every combatant in thoſe memorable conflicts. Diod. Sic. L. 12. § 1.

The riches of the conquerors flowed from the triple ſource of military prize, of territory, and of captives; and the latter employed in the meaner handicrafts and trades, allowed leiſure and diſengagement, as well as competence to each citizen; who, buoyed up with national pride, and the elevation of his country, choſe to mingle in her councils, with the ſelf-conſequence of having fought her battles and conduced to thoſe victories, which encreaſing her empire, encreaſed the ſubjects of public buſineſs, and importance of employ.

The work-ſhop being given up for the aſſembly, more citizens crouded into action, more individuals became public men, and the ſtate of Athens became more democratic. Plut. Vit. Ariſtid.

The growing taſte of the people, for political interference, was flattered and promoted by thoſe leaders, who ſought to purchaſe their favour and applauſe; the obſtacles to popular ambition were

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removed by ſucceſſive decrees, annulling ancient diſtinctions, founded in the old ſyſtem of landed intereſt, and in the policy of Solon, who ſought to temperate the democracy with inſtitutions ſuggeſted by more partial governments. To theſe cauſes of change in the conſtitution of the republic, Plutarch adds that of the long walls built by Cimon to connect the upper city with the Piræus, before ſeparate and fortified apart: "theſe walls (ſays he) tak- "ing within the common circuit of the city, the reſidence of the "commercial and ſeafaring populace, they thenceforward more "readily mingled in the public aſſemblies; ever joined, and often "originated, the clamour of the day, and abetted alternately the "deſigns of a favourite, or furious reſentments of the common- "alty." The dangers hence to be apprehended were the greater, as whilſt Ariſtides opened the higheſt offices of ſtate to the claims of the pooreſt citizen, Ephialtes degraded the dignity of the Areopagus by introducing the cuſtom of frequent appeals from that juriſdiction to the aſſemblies; and thus enlarged at once their ſphere of ambition, of policy, of favour, and of juſtice. The evil effects of laying ſo many new powers, and of bringing ſo much new matter before the commonalty, were not inſtantaneous, nor enter into the ſcene of government now before us. New powers are ever at the outſet adminiſtered with virtue and moderation; a Plebeian conſul at Rome, and a Plebeian archon at Athens, on the firſt admiſſion of the reſpective pretenſions, were in either ſtate uncommon inſtances of the peoples' availing themſelves of the rights they had been moſt earneſt to attain; nor doth it appear that the ultimate reſort of juſtice was conducted otherwiſe than with modeſty and with rectitude. It is an obſervation [92] of Iſocrates, that in theſe times, "it was as difficult to make office acceptable to any, as "in his time to find a man who did not ſolicit it." If we may credit the reference of the Greek ſophiſts and orators to this happy period,—what liberty had gained, good government had not loſt:

Plut. Vit. Cimon.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

Iſocrat. orat. Areopag.

its adminiſtration was yet firm and conſiſtent, the decrees of the ſtate wiſe, their execution prompt, and obedience to them ſo implicit, that it warranted Plato to aſſert, "that [93] the people "were at once maſters of, and ſlaves to the laws;" and this ſpirit of ſubordination he places to account of the dangers which menaced them from the ſtupendous invaſion of the Perſians, which inſtilled a ſenſe of union among themſelves, of adherencd to their inſtitutions, and of acquieſcence in their regulations, and in the command of thoſe they entruſted and empowered, as their ſole reſource of ſtrength adequate to ſo great occaſion. The pride and love of glory, reſulting from the conſequences of thoſe wars, for a time ſuſtained that ſpirit which had been the means of ſucceſs, and made the citizens juſt and diſintereſted in the exerciſe of their republican power, as they had been bold and zealous in aſſerting their pretenſions to it; and in defending it, as well againſt uſurpers within their ſtate, as againſt foreign invaſion.

Plat. de Leg. L. 3.

THE effect of public habits on the domeſtic demeanour of the Athenians would alone afford ſome grounds of enquiry; but further, the genuine ſources of information, reſpecting the ſubjects of manners and of morals, lay in the ſimple theories of the human mind and paſſions; in the inveſtigation of facts which may be preſumed to have an uniform connection therewith, and, finally, in a ſpeculative combination of men and things: or, reverting from conſequences to their cauſes, they are to be ſearched out in the aſſumption of taſte from the objects of predilection; and in the aſſumption of ſocial conduct from the effects which we are acquainted with, and which can be preſumed to have originated from no other ſource, than the actual manners of the age. Can we read the ſublime tragedies of Æſchylus, and particularly that of the *Perſai*, nor ſuppoſe them penned in conformity to an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of virtue, patriotiſm,

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and renown; which dignifying the audience, incited the poet to touch ſuch paſſions, as being moſt general and intereſting, as awakening attention, and as enſuring applauſe? When we read thoſe of Sophocles, who quickly followed the father of the drama, and who flouriſhed too in theſe times, can we entertain a doubt, that the people who generally attended and were enamoured with ſuch repreſentations, and who beſtowed ſucceſſive gratuities and honours on ſuch writers, were of no frivolous character, but impregnate equally with the taſte of poetry, and with the ſenſe of glory; which never accompany mean habits of ſelfiſhneſs, low debauchery, and idle gratification? The pomp of their feſtivals, beſpeak equally the magnificent ſpirit of the people; and if, from their attention to ſuch ſubjects beyond other nations, ought elſe is to be deduced, it is a ſuperſtition that drew at leaſt the attention of the citizens ſtill further from diſſolute vices and degrading purſuits: nor was this ſuperſtition intolerant; but, whilſt in its ſplendour it drew to itſelf and circulated the articles of commerce, it bore with all the nations and ſects which commerce attracted to its *emporium* of Athens. We are warranted in affixing to this æra of manners, national pride connected with philanthropy; and in painting the ſtrict republican character, as endowed with the complacent virtues of hoſpitable intercourſe, when we advert to the reception of ſtrangers, and even to the treatment of ſlaves. The dominion of the ſeas, and the connections of trade, muſt have habituated many citizens to foreign excurſions; many too, from other countries, became their gueſts in return; national prejudices were thus broken in upon; the minds of men became more knowing and enlarged; and the people were taught to comprize others, as well as Greeks, within the circle of their benevolence: their very ſlaves partook of that benevolence; they bore no badge of ſervitude, but were cloathed as citizens; the

Pauſan. in Att. Xen. Pol. Ath.

Iſocrat. Paneg. Xenoph. περι προσοδων.

the laws protected them equally from insults and from blows, and their several merits and accomplishments raised them proportionally to a certain rank in society, though never in the state. CHAP. XV. Xen. Pol. Ath. C. 1. § 9. 10. 11.

This complacency of manners, originating from other sources than the long habits of diffusive intercourse, implies no depraved or luxurious customs of life: an Athenian feast was proverbial with surrounding nations for an homely entertainment; nor can the propriety of the application be doubted, when we read of Pericles, and of others, the first men in Athens, meeting at a friend's house, followed severally by a slave bearing a small portion of provisions for the master's diet: I must obviate any reference on these topics to the convivial discourses of the Greek sophists, and particularly to the curious symposion of Xenophon, by reminding the reader, that they were written long after these virtuous times, and that the pictures therein are drawn from subsequent habits of life. In this age there seems to have been little private luxury, or even private ostentation employed in any degree or object: when we are told, that the houses of Themistocles, of Cimon, and of Aristides, and of other great men, were no ways distinguishable from those of their poorest neighbours; when we consider this exterior equality, and the intrinsic one too of rights and of freedom; and when we observe that the sole ascendancy in these times was of ability and of virtue, and that on such jointed basis alone the elevation of those men was founded, and yet when it rose too high, was beaten down and destroyed;—we might almost be led to consider the Athenian state, in its interior policy and management, as transcending the perfections of united systems, which recluse politicians have imagined in their visionary models of government: —but that we already descry bursting from the sod those seeds of corruption and ruin, which the wealth of Persia so widely disseminated.

Athenæ. L. 10. Ibid. L. 8. Laur. vall. de conviv. Vet.

Demost. Orat. περὶ συντάξεως § 46.

Diod. Sic. L. 12. § 1.

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ſeminated. The accumulated riches of the ſtate, and of its citizens too individually, however lay not hidden in coffers:—private temperance as yet rejected their abuſe; but private thrift threw the ſuperfluities from œconomical management into funds for aggrandiſement of the ſtate, or ſplendor of the city.

DOMESTIC parcrimony is no ways incompatible with public magnificence: the citizens of Athens had yet the feelings of patriotiſm, were yet capable of ſympathizing with the glory of the commonwealth, and of ſacrificing thereto ſome portion of more private intereſts, and more ſelfiſh concerns: *their forefathers* loved their country, *they* were proud of it; and pride for a time proped up that fabric which virtue had raiſed. The firſt ſuitors of the fair miſtreſs, Athens, were ſentimentally attached to the ſoul (as Iſocrates emphatically terms the ſpiritual tenor of the political inſtitution;) their ſucceſſors too were yet conſtant to the fair; but it was a groſſer paſſion for the ſenſible object, and was no longer diſplayed by a brave and knight-like aſſiduity of ſervice, and a ſubſerviency of morals to the pure and correct pattern of the republic, but was ſhown in a prodigality of ornament and a profuſion of wealth, corruptive of, [94] and ruinous to, the very patriot-love that laviſhed it: for an attachment to ſenſible objects paſſes almoſt with the novelty, and further the mind degenerates into a vicious levity.

Iſocrat. Panath.

WHEN the Athenians began to view, with rapture and pride, the beauties of their city, the ſplendid array of their fleets, and to glory in their grandeur and opulence; they gloried indeed in what was external and quickly periſhable, and they gloried too in what was diſtinct from the pure ſources of exultation in a free commonwealth;—the ſentiment of union, of virtue, and of liberty, and the honeſt heartfelt pride of having repaid the benefits of government by ſervice and ſupport: yet ſtill ſomething in common

common was at heart; nay, the very cement of the public weal for the moment ſeemed more binding and ſtrong, as if locked up by a froſt, but to periſh with the diſſolution of the ſeaſon. In a former period, men gave up their very ſuſtenance, their very lives, for the well-being, for the life of the republic; they now made the ſmaller ſacrifice of private to public luxury, and lived thriftily at home, to add to the pomp of the feſtival, to the apparel of the theatre, or to the decoration of the city. Self-love, indeed, by a penetrating eye, might be diſcovered in its paſſage homewards; it ſeemed to have withdrawn from the extreme periphery of the ſocial ſyſtem, and might be ſuppoſed ſhortly to plot within a contracted circle, and confuſe and break the compact with jarring intereſts and deſigns. A licentiouſneſs reſulting from the extenſion of democratic liberty, an avarice proceeding from the habitual application to encreaſing commerce, an avidity of power growing with the enlargement of empire, an ambition riſing and ſpreading with the occaſions of ſignalizing military genius and civil capacity, and even the fine arts ſoftening the minds of men, and preparing them for new indulgencies and new luxuries, might be anticipated from the points of view this æra affords, and add force to the ſpeculation. Ere I puſh forward into theſe proſpects which open before us, a ſubject, which, perhaps I ſhould apologize for, as digreſſive in a treatiſe profeſſedly of political tendency, pleads for introduction.

A DISTINGUISHED conſequence accrued from the ſpirit of public magnificence, preceding the turn for domeſtic ſplendor: it was hence that *Grecian art* ſo ſuddenly attained an excellence which in no other country, and in no other age, hath been ſurpaſſed; and ſurely in the article of ſculpture hath remained unrivalled even to theſe times of modern refinement. Public magnificence is ever moſt favourable to the progreſs of the arts; honours,

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nours, religion, inſcriptive fame, all conſpire to inſtigate genius of the firſt magnitude; whereas mere retribution, flowing from opulent individuals, excites avarice and voluptuouſneſs; paſſions of a meaner temper, but which, of ſtronger force, bear down thoſe of glory and diſtinction: the mercenary and luxurious, preferring money and pleaſures to *their art*, ſacrifice their genius and its predilections to whatever may be the taſte, and however mean it may be, of the patronage they court.

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OF ARTS.

THE man whom exercise hath trained to run easily with speed, will run with grace: the mind too not only becomes vigorous, but elegant, from the frequent use of its powers; what it hath begun it will have the sagacity to finish; and what completed the spirit to refine: no longer satisfied with a trite road of practice, it will at length deviate into new paths, wherein to exercise its activity or strength; as it is allured by fairer prospects of pleasure, or expelled its wonted career by a sense of obstacle or annoyance.

When a free state is in that point of its progression, that finished law and method have rendered frequent interposition unnecessary but to the immediate agents of the commonwealth, the active mind, disgusted with the sameness and facility of public practice, will recur to private life; and busily add convenience to necessaries, and luxury to convenience: each sense is then plied with enjoyment, till each object palls upon the taste; and successively the powers of art are called upon for new and more accomplished excellence, to charm the ear, to fix the eye, or to enrapture the fancy.

Art hath thus in some countries attained maturity, but its decline hath ever been rapid; for to rest contented with a stile of sculpture or of literature, were to forego pursuit; and this being incompatible with mental inquietude, true science, as well as every thing else, has had its vicissitudes, and yielded to that

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fondneſs for novelties which is the ſpring of all human undertakings: painting hath deviated [95] into extravagance or littleneſs; architecture hath loſt its effect in finical ornament; poetry been buried in the quaintneſs of conceit; and even hiſtory in ſearch of novel excellence hath wandered into the familiar, the marvellous, or the obſcure. — When, from the abſolute perverſion of government, politics are become dangerous, and a man no longer with ſafety can mingle in public adminiſtration, or ſecurely even buſy himſelf in private concerns; — the intellect, uneaſy in ſloth, will recur to a proper object, and veiling the proſcribed activity in platonic ſpeculation, or obviating its conſequences with ſtoic firmneſs, will ſeek new life and motion from philoſophy: Socrates, the firſt great moral preceptor, fell amidſt the ruins of the Athenian republic, and the ſectaries of Zeno chiefly flouriſhed under the tyranny of the Cæſars.

WITH an eye to the gradation of government, it is probable that art will fore-run philoſophy; and that the growing wealth, the pride of family, and love of diſtinction, may launch into the virtues of beneficence or vanities of patronage, previous to the diſſipated luxury productive finally of thoſe revolutions, when the mind muſt, under the neceſſity of the times, ſeek ſome alleviation from ſilent ſyſtem, or ſteel itſelf againſt actual evils by apathy, or blunt their force by anticipation: ſays Tacitus [96], *poſtquam cædibus ſævitum, et magnitudo Famæ exitio erat, cæteri ad ſapientiora convertêre*:—as the plenitude of power corrupts the deſpot, ſo the impotence of reſiſtance forms the ſage, nor under the caſualty of their reſpective fortunes belongs it to ought but to the divine eye to penetrate the receſs, and ſcan the merits of each character:—the tyrants may have been the better compoſition!—O man of virtue, pity the criminal and be humble!

Tacit. Ann. 3.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS too, art may have the prior place [97] from its more immediate connection with the wants of mankind; the wooden bowl is poliſhed to the hand and delights the touch; it is engraved and pleaſes the eye; the trunk in its elevation naturally puſhes forth new branches, and ſucceſſively ramifies on each ſhoot, till loſt in the minuteſt tendril!

PERHAPS too, philoſophy may come laſt in ſucceſſion, as being of that high and etherial caſt, as to require every previous experience and exerciſe, to ſtrengthen and enlarge the mind, and render it at once capacious for its theories, and firm for its practice!

PERHAPS too, when want is provided for, every deſire ſerved, even fancy ſatiated, and we can go no further; to obliterate diſappointment we find out that we ought not; and pretending to adopt from choice what we are driven to by force, become ſages of neceſſity!

FREE ſtates (it hath by many been obſerved) are the beſt nurſery-bed of the arts; and other ſtates (it will be obſerved) have ran a career ſomewhat ſimilar to that of Athens; and have known a period when emulation, ſickening in the ſtagnation of public ſervices and duties, might be ſuppoſed to invigorate in others ſcenes of employment; and wherefore then (it may be aſked) "Is the Athenian name ſo ſingularly pre-eminent in the "annals of polite taſte and ingenious workmanſhip?" and even in exception to the general reaſoning above ſtated, as theſe people ſeem to have anticipated the æra of political decline alluded to, and to have blended theſe accompliſhments with their brighteſt courſe of republican vigour, and national energy?

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THE reader will remember that ſoon after the city was rebuilt, the people of Athens became principals in the Perſian war; that the new intereſt was to be eſtabliſhed by ſome extraordinary exertion; and that the gifts of fortune and of fame called forth every Athenian to the field, who had at heart his own honour and conſequence in the republic, or thoſe of the republic in relation to Greece: from the elated temper of the young and active citizens, many of the menial trades fell to the numerous captives that thronged ſucceſſively from each victory: the warriors returning with all the pride of triumph, diſdained for the moſt part to practice the mechanical profeſſions in common with their ſervants; to find them other employment wherein none but freemen could be competitors, a decree paſſed forbidding any ſlave the exerciſe of ſculpture or painting; and the *liberal arts* were thus for ever dignified at Athens. The moſt exalted ſpirit, from that period, diſdained not the chiſel or the pallat; the labour as well as the deſign equally ennobled genius; the boldeſt theory thence was combined with the moſt delicate execution; nor was the time expended on the work, any conſideration to the artiſt, whilſt renown was his object; or if avaricious, no price was eſteemed too high for a beautiful and finiſhed performance. Pliny tells us that the Laocoon [98] took up the lives of a father and of his two ſons; a work, from which the moſt elaborate mechanic might learn to finiſh, the moſt correct draftſman might ſtudy preciſion, and the moſt ſublime poet invention and idea!

Plin. L. 34. Cap. 7. & Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 36. C. 5.

ANOTHER circumſtance, which conduced particularly to the early refinement and progreſs of the arts at Athens, was the timely adminiſtration of one, who from nature and education had every requiſite of judicious taſte, and poſſeſſed at once the moſt unbounded power and moſt liberal ſpirit that ever ennobled public patronage: Pericles, the ſon of the Xantippus renowned for the

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

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the defeat of the Perſians at Mycale, comes not at preſent to our view in the character of miniſter but of Patron; his mind opened by the ſubtilties of his preceptor [99] Anaxagoras, and poliſhed by his intercourſe with the accompliſhed Aſpaſia; exerciſed by the ingenious ſophiſtry of the ſage, and refined by the erudite delicacy and elegance of his no leſs philoſophical miſtreſs,—it grew flexible and capacious, it became open and luxurious: luxurious in thoſe objects which through the ſenſe awaken the fancy, and enrapture the ſoul with the contemplation of ſymmetric beauty: to feel this divine, this harmonic ſentiment, the mind muſt be in uniſon with, or beautiful (if I may ſo expreſs it) as its object; it muſt have all the pliable variety, all the enthuſiaſtic wanderings, and that accurate, and that diſcriminating, ſpirit which a learned, as well as ſpeculative tutor could exerciſe it to; and all the yielding temper, the refined judgment, the ſqueamiſh nicety of taſte, (in a word) the melody of finiſhed character which may reſult, and can reſult only, from the converſe of a lovely and beloved woman!

Diog. Laert. Vit. Anaxag. Platon. Menexen. Dialog.

Menag. Mel. Philoſ. Hiſt.

With a taſte for the liberal ſciences and arts, Pericles (how illicitly I will not at preſent urge) enjoyed the moſt ample means of recompenſing deſert, and of foſtering genius: the bank of the general contributions had been removed from Delos, and no immediate exigency demanding the application of theſe monies to the common cauſe, he converted them to the purpoſes of embelliſhing the city, and with an aſſiduity that ſoon rendered Athens the ornament, as it had been, the bulwark of Greece: nor did Pericles find it difficult to gain the aſſent of his countrymen to this miſuſe of the public funds; Athens was a miſtreſs endeared by loſs, and whoſe value was enhanced by the difficulties of redemption; and no citizen grudged to diſſipate his own, or even to treſpaſs on the public patrimony, to deck out her beauties, and give new luſtre to her name.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

The

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THE immortal ſtatuary Phidias was made ſuperintendant of the public works, and by his fame drew together the firſt artiſts of Greece, and without envy gave due encouragement to all; for "envy (as Pericles nobly obſerves in his funeral oration) "comes [100] not but from ſomewhat inferiour to its object."

Plut. Vit. Periclis. Thucyd. L. 2.

PUBLIC edifices, of the richeſt and grandeſt ſtructure, were every where raiſed: what the magnificence of theſe buildings was, may be ſurmiſed from the ſum of a thouſand talents, or an hundred and eighty thouſand pounds ſterling, expended ſolely on the temple of Minerva, and that at a time when from the multitude of ſlaves, labour was almoſt gratuitous, and the fineſt marbles were the produce of the country. In this temple, called the Parthenion, and built by the architect Setinus, ſtood a ſtatue of the tutelary goddeſs, wrought in ivory by the hand of Phidias, and profuſely decorated with gold: if this figure is taken as the criterion of the arts at this æra of the Athenian republic, the idea of general excellence of taſte and workmanſhip, tranſcends all that every other country and every other age can boaſt: precious as were the materials, Phidias formed this ſtatue ſix and twenty cubits high, and from the deſcription of Pliny, it yet appears to have been in every part elaborately touched as the moſt exquiſite miniature: the reliefs were choſen from great and complex ſubjects, and were ſeverally a work that required the firſt artiſt, his exertion of genius, and his utmoſt care in execution: on the area of the ſhield was ſculptured the battle of the Amazons; within its concave the conflict of the gods and giants; on the pedeſtal was repreſented the birth of Pandora and the deities; and even the ſandals were ornamented with a graving of the Lapithæ and Centaurs; and a victory (weighing forty talents of gold) was held forth in its hand. This ſtatue, of which the total effect riveted the attention in amazement and rapture, was in each detail ſo finiſhed and perfect, that (ſays Pliny) the moſt intelligent eye could with pleaſure contemplate

Plut. Vit. Per.

Xenoph. περὶ πρόσοδων. § 4.

Strabo, L. 9. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. 36. C. 5.

Pauſan. in Att. Epictet. Διατριβ. L 2. C. 8.

even the ſerpent, the ſphinx, and other ornaments of the armour. Yet admirable as was this figure of Minerva, it was not the moſt admired of the works of Phidias; Lucian prefers the ſtatue of Lemnia (or termed Lemnia) on which the artiſt affixed his name; and his ſtatue of Olympian Jupiter, we are told, was unrivalled: the ancients ſpeak of this latter performance with rapture; even Strabo, on this ſubject, ſeems inſpired by the god, with an elevation of ſentiment ſuitable to a deſcription of this auguſt repreſentation of divinity; he ſpeaks of this Coloſſus "as touching [101] the roof of the temple as it ſat, "and in that attitude ſtriking the ſpectator, as if each moment "going to riſe, and burſt the dome of the hallowed edifice "which encloſed it." It is ſaid, that Phidias took his idea of this ſtatue from the following lines of Homer:

Lucian. de imag. Plin. L. 34. C. 8.

Strab. L. 8.

> Jove gave the nod, with knit and awful brow;
> His heav'nly hair were ruffled; 'twas the ſtrength
> Of God that mov'd, and all Olympus ſhook!

Iliad. L. 1. v. 528.

HAVING confined the inſtances of ſculpture to Phidias, I ſhall briefly obſerve, that Polygnotus too, and others at this period, *began* to excell in painting; but this art ſeemed yet in its infancy, whilſt the works of Phidias have ſtood unrivalled by ſubſequent ages. The general queſtion of antecedency, I doubt not to decide in favour of ſtatuary: the ingenious Mr. Webb, in his treatiſe on painting, has advanced a contrary tenet; but I ſide with the learned Winckelman [102], and on a favourite ſubject will hazard a digreſſion in ſupport of his argument. To talk of the perfect knowledge of drawing as previouſly neceſſary to the formation of a figure, which on every bearing, and in every light, was to have the juſt outline of nature, implies a very partial comprehenſion of the poſſible beginnings of the art; rather ſhould I ſuppoſe (and the reliques of the higheſt antiquity aid my ſuppoſition) that the firſt models of the human figure

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 35. C. 9.

Hiſtoire de l'Art. C. 1. § 1. & C. 4. § 1.

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figure depended for their correctneſs on the momentary idea, and preciſe viſion of the artiſt, and that he plaiſtered on his clay, or pared its prominencies, till his eye was ſatisfied with the ſimilitude. There were indeed ſuch ſtatues as the Ægyptian hewn out on diagram rather than deſign, with acute angles, no grace of limb, no motion, no compoſition, but an exact and ſcrupulous length of bone, and conformity of proportions: Dædalus [103] the Athenian, on theſe granite mummies, I can imagine to have firſt worked, and to have improved them without the ſtudy of drawing, or the aſſiſtance of ought other original than nature; to have ſeparated the limbs from their rigid unity with the trunk, to have enlarged ſome, and to have diminiſhed other parts, till the nice gradations of muſcle, and their modulation to attitude, were founded on uniform experience and more exact obſervation. The portraits of Semiramis and her huſband on the walls of Babylon will be quoted from Diodorus; and the lovers ſhadow penciled round by his miſtreſs, will be cited from Pliny, and many other tales, and much reaſoning may be adduced to prove the antiquity of painting; and if I will not allow art to originate from that quarter, the conceſſion will be expected of me at leaſt, that ſculpture and painting may be nearly coeval; but not even this can I agree to: nor was the palace of Alcinous, nor other kingly hall decked by the laviſh ſong of Homer, therein decorated with pictures; but

Diod. Sic. L. 1.

Ibid. L. 4.

Ibid. L. 2.

Plin. L. 35. C. 12.

> Two [104] rows of ſtately dogs on either hand,
> In ſculptur'd gold and labour'd ſilver ſtand;
> Theſe Vulcan form'd with art divine, to wait
> Immortal guardians of Alcinous' gate;
> Alive each animated frame appears.

Odyſſ. 7. (Pope)

Nor was the temple or houſe of Solomon adorned with pictures: in all the eaſtern metaphors of the *earlier* holy writ, I remember not one exemplification from painting: but, ſays the divine

divine canon, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image." From the figure of man, to form a ſimilar figure, was ſurely more obvious than to deceive the ſenſe, by that complicated art which gives a juſt ſwell and relative depreſſure to a plane ſurface. The ſtatue had a ſimple and obvious original; the man who firſt ſtripped the bark from the tree, and ſmoothed the knotty trunk [105], was in his way to that art, which afterwards ſtretched to the formation of an Apollo.

At the time when ſculpture was at the higheſt pitch, then painting began to emulate its excellence; much it was to ſeek without the pale of imitation, but much too it was to borrow from the prior art; colour, and its contingencies of light and ſhade, it was to ſeek for in nature, but the preciſe outline it could more readily copy from the correct, and unvarying models of a Phidias or Alcamenes: from attention to ſuch finiſhed performances deſign [106] ſoon attained a degree of perfection, which no modern work can be ſuppoſed to give a juſt idea of: when Pliny ſays, that, "*Ambire debet ſe extremitas, et ſic deſinere, ut pro-* Plin. L. 35. C. 10. "*mittat alia poſt ſe, oſtendatque quæ occultat*;" I confeſs my eye is but ill ſatisfied even with the Seſtine chapel [107]. Whilſt we allow the ſuperiority of deſign to the ancient painters, let us not extravagantly deal them out every accompliſhment of the profeſſion: from the old poets, and from the antiquarians Ælian and Pauſanias, and from Lucian and others, I think it may be gathered that the ancient painters delighted much in ſingle figures [108], and that their ſingle figures had all the animation which colour and deſign could produce; but their more crouded pictures ſeem to have been of a frigid, or of an extravagant turn of compoſition; they knew not the technical propriety and diſpoſition of planes; nor do they appear to have been well acquainted with the beauties of effect modulated on the varieties of the aerial medium: in the picture of the battle of Marathon,

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beſides a very particular delineation of all that paſſed in that memorable field, the Perſian fleet too was deſcried from afar, *and Cinægyrus* [109] retaining the veſſel with his teeth. Their characters muſt generally, I think, have been better in the detail, than in the group, and each figure, rather than the picture, have been the object of admiration. Though a paſſage is cited from Vitruvius, mentioning a ſcene as old as the times of Æſchylus, drawn *apparently* on juſt principles of optics, and on which Anaxagoras wrote a treatiſe; and though Eupompus (we are expreſsly told) was of opinion, that a knowledge of geometry was neceſſary to an exact delineation of the objects in nature; yet cannot I coincide in the idea, that the ancients were maſters of a regular and ſyſtematic perſpective [110]. Particular inſtances belong rather to the ſide of exception than of rule; when we are told of one particular ſcene, I ſhould imagine it to have been ſingularity which recommended it to notice; when we are told, that one Eupompus was of ſuch or ſuch an opinion; it implies, I think, that the generality were not of that opinion.

Pauſan. in Att.

Vitruv. Præf.

Plin. L. 35. C. 10.

NICETAS, as we learn from Cicero's academics; and others, as we learn from the firſt book of Lucretius [111], had a juſt idea of the figure of the earth; but ſuch ſyſtem not being the adoption of the age, it is not to be placed to the account of its erudition: it thus little furthered natural philoſophy; and as little might the opinion of one individual artiſt prove the advancement of art.

Ciceron. Quæſt. Acad. 1.

Lucret. L. 1.

WITHOUT mathematical knowledge, much may be done; a building may be tolerably drawn, a flying line well conducted from mere obſervation, and without any artificial point of ſight, or diagram from rule and compaſs; an acute and ſteady eye may learn to well diſtinguiſh the poſition, ſituation, and diſtance of objects, by ſhowing their proper planes in their proper forms,

and marking the regular and juſt diminution: but the perſpective part of deſign is then dependant for its accuracy rather on the artiſt [112], than on the art; and is liable to gain or loſe, as his delicacy of viſion corrects, or dullneſs or inattention perverts it; whilſt, if founded on known and invariable principles, a very mechanic can ſcarcely err. That the ancients had no ſuch juſt theory, is ſufficiently apparent, I think, from the pictures diſcovered in the theatre of Herculaneum, and town of Pompeii; nor will it avail, to ſay that theſe were done when painting was in its decline; the more noble branches of the art, it may not be candid therefore to queſtion from the examples before us; but the more mechanical parts of the profeſſion might be ſuppoſed to have gained ground, as the ſublimer fell into decay: had perſpective ever been reduced to juſt principles it would have been perfected on the ruins of the art it was founded on; its difficulties would have been explored, novel ſingularities have exerciſed its truths, and the beauties of deſign would have been ſucceeded by profeſſional ſubtilty and trick: nor will it avail to aſſert that theſe works were of ſome inferior, ſome provincial hand; even their great merits apart, the frequent reſidence of the emperors and Roman nobility on this coaſt might ſuggeſt a contrary idea; but it is unneceſſary to further enforce it, as the previous remark is wholly inconſequent, whilſt even in this country (a country by no means diſtinguiſhed in the chapter of art) ſcarcely a ſignpoſt can be produced whereon are depicted the upper and under ſurface of the ſame ſolid; a circumſtance not uncommon in the otherwiſe neatly and finely executed reliques of ancient painting.

THE

HISTORY OF ATHENS, &c. &c.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAP. I.

OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PERICLES—OF THE DOMINION OF ATHENS—OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE ARGIVE ALLIANCE.

THE point of perfection is but that of a moment, ſoon as attained it is paſſed; and leaſt of all, the excellence of political conſtitutions of ſociety, dependant on ſo many paſſions of men, and ſo many contingencies of event, is calculated for any degree of permanency, either as to virtue or proſperity. The delineation of manners and eſtimate of political œconomy as ſtated in a preceding chapter, refers to, nor extends beyond, the preciſe æra of the peace which cloſed the conteſts of Athens with Greece, enſuing the conteſts of Athens and Greece with the powers of Perſia. The fifteen years which have elapſed from the epoch of the truce, ſuited the ordinary and obvious intereſts

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tereſts of a commercial ſtate as was Athens, and facilitating and extending its mercantile connections thereby added to its wealth, its numbers, and its navy: but this ſeaſon, nutrient to its political reſources, at the ſame time foſtered and raiſed up thoſe ſeeds of internal corruption, which were ſcattered by the high fortune of the republic in her wanton career of ſucceſs: the fruits thereof were calculated to infuſe a temporary glow of extraordinary beauty and vigour to the ſtate that fed thereon, but ſecretly they ſapped the vitals of its conſtitution, and ultimately deſtroyed the ſpirit and force which they ſeemed for a while to nouriſh and extend. When wealth began to diſtinguiſh the fortunate from war or trade; and when art had ſuggeſted enjoyments, which the paſſions of men are ever ready to meet halfway, and which wealth alone could procure; progreſſively gain became the ſubſtitute for each worthier motive of action, and ſoon the ſenſe of public duties yielded to pleaſures and to ſelfintereſt. Some citizens, relinquiſhing to certain demagogues all general concerns of ſtate, were abſorbed in voluptuous habits of life; others in the lucrative courſe of trade; and ſome ſolicited a participation of riches from the patronage, and others from the apprehenſions of able, opulent, and enterprizing men, who were beneficent from ambition, or from the ſenſe of reſponſibility; who wiſhed to poſſeſs, or who had poſſeſſed the executive offices of government. The lower claſſes, needy in the individual capacity, were yet collectively powerful in the aſſembly of the commonwealth; the corrupt means to ſooth and to court them having been eſſayed by high delinquents; the practice too ſoon reliſhed when once admitted, began to vitiate each popular decree: to ſooth and to court, then became neceſſary to thoſe who had ought to aſk, as well as to thoſe who had ought to fear; whilſt the people learnt to confer each boon in their public calling with views to remuneration, or generally or in their ſeveral private ſituations. Hence new immunities were ſucceſſively

ſively propoſed to ingratiate the propoſer with the commonalty; hence bounties, feaſts, and ſhows, the fruits of military depredation, were by each General given to conciliate the populace; and in default of private wealth, hence Pericles advanced to power, eſtabliſhed himſelf in the adminiſtration by largeſſes from the very funds of the ſtate to its turbulent and mercenary citizens: the ſtruggle of this ſtateſman, to attain as well as to preſerve miniſterial power, had perhaps more immediately rendered the people turbulent and mercenary.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

Platon. Gorg. Dialog.

Pericles was ennobled by deſcent from the Xantippus who commanded the fleet at Mycale; this, and his own perſonal accompliſhments, and more particularly an affability towards the ordinary claſſes of citizens contraſted with a haughty reſerve towards the higher ranks, and a natural readineſs of ſpeech by ſtudy improved into the moſt refined and elevated eloquence, made him an early favourite with the people; but by the more ſagacious citizens remarked as a tranſcendant character, which might ſometimes bear the commonwealth from its proper bias, and the admirable qualities of which were to be regarded as the more dangerous, in proportion to the public favour and notice they attracted. His perſon too was ſaid to reſemble that of Piſiſtratus, and light as this circumſtance ſhould ſeem, it was the weight that ſet peoples minds agoing in ſearch of other ſimilitudes, which never exiſted or never would have been remarked, but for the firſt ground-work on which fancy wrought, of a ſemblance of voice and phyſiognomy. Pericles finding himſelf thus the object of ſuſpicion; and his manners and even gait, a text on which each cautious republican was to rouſe the attention and free ſpirit of the people, he determined to elude the effects of the public apprehenſion, by withdrawing for a time from the aſſemblies wherein he was regarded with ſo jealous and wary attention: he left the city for the camp, and ſtrived to ſubſtitute

Ibid. Pauſan. in Att. Plut. Vit. Periclis.

Plat. Menex. Dial.

Valer. Max. L. 6. C. 9.

Plut. Vit. Per.

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ſtitute the name of an expert and hardy ſoldier, for that of a dangerous and plotting citizen: his ſervices deſervedly acquired the eſtimation he ſought, but *rendered the citizen yet more dangerous.* To ſimulate and diſſimulate had ſome time been his neceſſary ſtudy, and ſo well did he profit of the theory, that on his return he managed to ingratiate himſelf with, and ſecure a party, before his opponents were even aware that from their remiſſneſs or miſtake, he had taken a ſtrong hold in the affections of the people, and which their united powers and policy were inſufficient to force, or entice him from. In the party formed by his able and conciliatory genius, he had his ſubordinate miniſters ſuited to each office of intrigue, of harangue, of enterprize, and of munificence; his Charinus, his Ephialtes, his Demonides, and his Menippus; nor whilſt prieſtcraft influences an age of ſuperſtition, can we ſuppoſe his friend the ſoothſayer Lampo, to have been without employ: in vain the laviſh ſpirit of Cimon, with feaſts and ſhews attempted to rival him in the good favour of the commonalty; Pericles oppoſed prodigality to prodigality, and the ſole reſult of the conteſt was further licentiouſneſs in the ſtate: in vain the honeſt ſenſe and valour of Thucydides were patroniſed by the nobles, and ſet up to cope with the pretenſions of this riſing genius—"When I throw him (ſaid Thucydides) he ſays, "he is not down, and they believe him even when on "the ground:" with his eloquence he carried all before him, and embittered by the repeated attacks of the higher claſs, he turned its whole current to ſap the bulwark of the ariſtocracy; licentiouſneſs then poured in with eddies and whirlpools, with ſtreams and with counter-ſtreams, wherein himſelf indeed was found (but alone found) an adequate pilot to the commonwealth, from whom none could take the helm, and with whom the veſſel was wholly to periſh.

Plut. Reip. Ger. præcept.

Ejuſd. Vit. Pericles.

Ejuſd. Vit. Cimonis & Periclis.

WHEN

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WHEN manners were incorrupt; when juſtice ruled at home, and equity abroad; when in the purity of the inſtitution, all were conſidered by each, and each by none; when the individual ſtate leaned to philanthropy, as the individual to the ſtate, and moral fitneſs was extended to national intereſts, and was made the rule of national conduct,—adminiſtration required no refinement: even as men deviated from (if ever they were bleſt by) ſuch virtuous ſyſtem, ſtill a ſound intellect and a firm ſpirit were for a while equal to the miniſtry of public affairs.—But now to harmonize all the jarring and diſcordant elements which ſociety was broken into,—to keep together and direct together this heterogeneous and uncemented maſs without change and without loſs, required an art unknown in former times, an art reſerved for the genius of Pericles. To corrupt [113], and to rule by corruption; to extract unanimity from diſcordant paſſions; to prop ſuccumbing valour with pride; to deduce the patriot virtues from the animoſities of party; to build a ſyſtem of dependance on vanity, and for ſubordination to ſubſtitute dependance; to draw plenty from diſſipation, and make the comforts and competence of the many proceed from the extravagance of the few; in foreign marts to balance commodity by manufacture, and the utility of manufacture by novelty or elegance; to purchaſe armies with wealth, and recover wealth with armies, or make negotiations ſupply the deficiences of both;—*theſe* were the arts of this great man; great may he be ſaid, for the greateſt in theſe reſpects have thought him a fit object of their emulation:—well were it, if they conſidered too the other qualities and merits which raiſed this character to the high preheminence it holds! Pericles was truly what Cato ſaid of Pompey,—

— — — — — *ſalvâ* [114] *Libertate, potens; et ſolus, plebe paratâ, Privatus, parere ſibi.*

Lucan. Phar-ſal. Lib. 9.

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His biographer and encomiaſt Plutarch tells us that it was Pericles who firſt applied ſecret-ſervice money to corrupt the enemies of his country; and Plato in his dialogue of Gorgias, ſays, it was Pericles who firſt corrupted his country;—but he encroached not on the liberties of the republic, nor though he diſſipated the funds of the ſtate, did he raiſe a fortune on its diſburſements; and its treaſury was rich on his demiſe. As he uſed it to conciliate, ſo at times did he employ his eloquence to chaſten the turbulenc of the populace; as from ambition he baniſhed, ſo from virtue he recalled his competitor Cimon: as rivalſhip loſt ground, he honoured his rivals; and finally ſought to reſtore the patrician influence and anew balance the commonwealth. To gain the lead in public affairs, he had much perplexed, but no one knew better how to unravel them; he had ever ſome reſource for the diſtreſſes, ſome ſafeguard in the dangers, ſome honourable means of colouring over the diſcredit of the republic. Arts and ſcience flouriſhed under his patronage, public ſpirit was countenanced, and the general welfare and ſafety, (as far as was compatible with the general corruption) were attended to with a happy inſight and reſolute practice: as the force of Athens ſickened from the depravity of her citizens, he medicated the weakneſs and ſubſtituting art for ſtrength taught her to act with a ſkill and vigilance, more than equal to manly proweſs: the warriour who trembled under the ſhield, might firmly direct his javelin from the rampart; unſteady in the field he might yet be dextrous on the ſeas; and hence as to foreign dominion and foreign wars, his ſyſtem of reliance was not on the force of garriſons in the one caſe, or of armies in the other, but on the walls and fleets of Athens. The ſubordinate ſtates being moſtly or iſlanders, or maritime, thereby were more eaſily to be controuled, and an enemy under the like predicament more eaſily annoyed; and if deſolation was ſpread through the territory of Attica, the fortreſs of

Thucyd. L. 2. § 65. Iſocrat. orat. de pace. Plut. Vit. Periclis.

Thucyd. L. 2. § 65. Xenoph. Pol. Ath. cap. 2. § 2. & ſeq.

of the city was a ſure refuge to the people, and meanwhile its fleets with ſudden and unprepared for invaſion might make a deſcent on the enemies coaſts, and the balance of conqueſt and depredation for a time be equally held;—*for a time*, I ſay,—for arts may be acquired by thoſe who have them not, but virtue rarely be recovered by thoſe who have loſt it.

Plut. Vit. Per. Diod. Sic. L. 12. Ariſtoph. Com. Acharn.

It is ſaid that Pericles, or to ſcreen ſome paſt malverſation, or to make his abilities neceſſary for the future, or even *from meaner motives* [115], engaged his country in a war: that peace was not ſo likely to befriend his power is certain; that he was the immediate or ſole cauſe of the rupture between Athens and Sparta, and, as it is termed, of the Peloponneſian war, is much, and with much reaſon to be doubted: Thucydides expreſsly tells us, "that the dominion of Athens was become too abſolute and "extenſive to be any longer regarded with paſſive envy by the "great rival ſtates; they thought even their own liberties en- "dangered, and if they found not, were ready to coin ſome "pretext for hoſtility, and league together to pluck the eagle's "wing ere ſhe gained a pitch above the flight of vengeance." The oſtenſible hiſtory is as follows.

Thucyd. L. 1. § 23.

Epidamnus owed its ſettlement to united colonies from Corinth and from Corcyra; diſſention had thus an original germ in this little ſtate which finally burſt forth, and in the commotion many of the moſt noted and moſt wealthy of the citizens were compelled to fly the fury of the populace, and take ſhelter in the neighbouring but barbarous diſtrict of the Taulantii: theſe people they perſuaded to aid their deſign of forcibly reinſtating themſelves in their country, when the townſmen inveterately bent againſt their return ſent to Corcyra for ſuccour wherewith to repel the attack, and drive the aſſailants back to the woods: Corcyra refuſing aſſiſtance, they then ap-

Ibid. § 24. & ſeq.

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plied to Corinth as being the joint parent ſtate, where their plea was admitted, and forthwith a ſubſidy voted to back their pretenſions and party: Corcyra alarmed at this interpoſition of Corinth, and fearful leſt the Colony of Epidamnus ſhould now totally recur from its protection to that of its rival, thought fit to take a part in its affairs, and diſpatch a fleet in ſupport of the exiles; this and the Corinthian armaments met, and the latter being worſted, the flame had caught which afterwards burſt in conflagration over Greece. Epidamnus was now loſt ſight of; Corinth ſought to revenge itſelf on Corcyra, and Corcyra deeming itſelf alone unequal to the conteſt, applied to the alliance of Athens. The Corinthian emiſſaries met them fraught with arguments evincive of the juſtice of their cauſe; but the Corcyreans made a better plea to the ambition of their auditors: they were iſlanders; their navy was powerful; they were ſituated conveniently for the invaſion of the nether coaſts of the Peloponneſe, or of Italy, or of Sicily, or thence of the whole borders of the mediterranean: ſuch an opportunity might not again occur, and was not now therefore to be paſſed over; the Athenians however had ſome reſpect for appearances, and not to ſeem in the eye of Greece the firſt abettors of freſh hoſtility, they concluded a merely defenſive treaty with the Corcyreans; but to enter into a defenſive treaty with a people already in arms, was ſurely equivalent to a declaration of war. The Corinthians unable to contend alone with theſe united powers, addreſſed the Spartans, and rouſed them from their lethargy with a tale of this new acceſſion to the force of their rivals, the dangerous avidity of further poſſeſſion thence diſcoverable in the Athenian ſtate, and their own loſs of that power and eſtimation in Greece, which had been ſo glorioufly bequeathed them by their forefathers at Platæa.

Thucyd. L. 1. § 35. & ſeq.

SPARTA

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SPARTA now ſent to Athens, and Athens ſent back to Sparta, and ſucceſſive negotiation was agitated, but in ſuch a manner as proved either to be in ſearch only of ſome colouring for their animoſity, and ſome means of involving others too in the conteſt, and of making the rupture general. Ibid. § 84. & ſeq.

THE requiſitions on the part of Sparta were evidently mere pretexts, and had little reference, or to their own concerns and intereſts, or to the queſtions in diſpute.—Firſt they took the part of religion, and inſiſted on the expiatory baniſhment of thoſe families deſcended from the murderers of Cylon when at ſanctuary, with a view to the exile of Pericles who was of ſuch deſcent: the Athenians bade the Lacedæmonians firſt expiate at home the breach of ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Tænarum, where the Helots were ſlain, and in the fane of Pallas where Pauſanias was murdered:—then the Spartans required that Ægina ſhould be enfranchiſed; then, that the Athenians ſhould open their ports and harbours at that time ſhut againſt the veſſels of the people of Megara, who had lately ſhaken off the Athenian yoke, and to whom the Athenians further objected the admitting and concealing their run-away ſlaves; other demands followed on theſe:—Pericles at length plainly told his countrymen, "that to cede the minuteſt point in debate, was to give up national honour without providing for national ſecurity; that "their puſillanimity apparent on a trivial conceſſion would "merely draw on further and more important requiſitions; and "that, as well as more becoming, it was more advantageous to "reject in the firſt inſtance, and ſhew a ſpirit, that at leaſt would "enſure the confidence of their allies, and ſubmiſſion of their tributaries:"—He diſplayed to them their wealth; above ſix thouſand talents [116] were then in the treaſury; ſix hundred they received annually in tribute; the temples were rich in ornaments of gold; and the maſſive ſpoils of the Perſian camp were ready in exigency Ibid. § 126. & ſeq. Ibid. Thucyd. L. 2.

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exigency to be melted down. He made known to them their force; their army was numerous and well appointed; they had thirteen thouſand heavy armed troops for the field, ſixteen thouſand more in garriſons, two thouſand light armed archers, and twelve hundred horſe: and their navy amounting to three hundred ſail was all equipped and ready for embarkation, whilſt their great arſenal, the work of Philon, was crowded with ſtores. He ſhowed them the extent and advantages of their dominion [117]; from Corcyra and Zacynthus on one ſide, and from Ægina and Eubæa on the other, they ſeemed to embrace the whole Grecian ſeas; they poſſeſſed the great cluſter of the Cyclades, and to theſe and other iſlands of the Ægean, had lately added the capital acquiſition of Samos: many of the inſular and maritime ſtates which were not actually ſubordinate to the government of Athens, could not but ſide with that naval power, or from commercial habits or from fears; thus Chios and Leſbos and various others were ready to ſend their fleets to the rendezvous of the great republic. On the continent their poſſeſſions were ſo happily ſcattered, that well might they be imagined choſen garriſons of Greece: they had Platæa on the borders of the Bœotian, and Naupactos [118] and parts of Acarnania on the confines of the Ætolian territory; Northward, Eion, Amphipolis and many cities of Theſſaly and Thrace belonged to them; thence eaſtward, the entire Cherſoneſe and Byzantium and Seſtos, and other towns on the Helleſpont ſubmitted to their juriſdiction; many likewiſe of Ionia, Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia were ſubordinate to their ſovereignty; their influence too was in many quarters extended or ſtrengthened by colonies;—the lands confiſcated from the common enemy, and from the allies too when refractory towards the cloſe of the Perſian war, had latterly been diſtributed, and chiefly by Pericles, among the poorer Athenians:—a thouſand Athenians carried the intereſts and feelings of their country to a ſettlement in the Cherſoneſe, a thouſand more to the diſtrict of the Biſaltæ

Plut Vit. Cimon & Pericl. Diod. Sic. L. 11. & 12. Pauſan. ſparſim. Strabo. L. 8. 9. Thucyd. L. 1.

in Thrace, a thouſand to that of the Hiſtiæi in Eubæa, five hundred to Naxos, as many to the iſles of Andros and Scyros, a thouſand to Samos, an equal number to Amphipolis, and others to the countries of the Haliartii, of the Chalcidenſes, and even to parts more diſtant. Looking round to this wide extended ſovereignty, and to the ſtations of the enemy, Athens ſeemed to be ſituated in the very center of the field of war, ready to diſpatch ſuccour and annoyance to each point of the circle :—with theſe reſources and with this empire Athens could not brook conceſſion ; a defiance enſued, and war was prepared for on all ſides.

HOSTILITIES commenced with an attempt to ſurprize Platæa ; the town was taken, and was recovered ; many of the aggreſſors were ſlain, and many remained captive within the walls. The Theban army then deſolating the fields around, approached the city to ſupport the enterprize of their countrymen ; whoſe failure and captivity being made acquainted with, they entered into treaty for their lives, and engaged to deſiſt from further devaſtation, on condition that their citizens were ſent back in ſafety, on the army's retreat from the country. Theſe terms were agreed to, and the Thebans withdrew ; but no ſooner were they withdrawn, but the Platæans [119] put to death their priſoners ; and this atrocious act of wanton perfidy, portentive of all its horrors and cruelty, opened the Peloponneſian war. Thucyd. L. 2.

THE ſubordinate ſtates of Athens were ſtrictly under its command ; they paid their tribute and ſervice ; they had no diſſentient voice, and their fleets and armies were headed by Athenians ; thus they were ſubmiſſive, but they were faithleſs. Xen. Pol. Ath.

THE Spartans were at the head of a confederacy embarked in one common cauſe, but with various and independent intereſts ; thus Thucyd. L. 1.

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thus though ſteady to the general purpoſe, often on particulars they were divided.

Ariſt. Pol. L. 5. C. 7.

THE Spartans in the ſeveral cities under their ſovereignty conſtituted an oligarchy, and the form of government ſeemed to ſecure a quiet and eaſy adminiſtration; but the people were not in their intereſts, and in a criſis of danger co-operated not with ardour and ſpirit.

Ibid. & Iſocrat. paneg.

THE Athenians foſtered their own ſyſtem of democracy in each little diſtrict of their dominion, but with ſo many reſtrictions and reſervations in favour of their own ſupremacy, that whilſt the ariſtocratics were diſguſted at the licentiouſneſs, the popular advocates were equally irritated by the controul of government, and merely the ubiquity of the fleet, and often not even that could enſure the faithful adherence of their tributaries. The diſtinctions of opulence and family, and the ſtrength of numbers had at various times occaſioned the moſt bloody commotions in every town of Greece: Such contention was now renewed, and with greater animoſity from a ſenſe of reſpective patronage and ſupport, held out to them by the two great rival ſtates; and as the demagogues or patrician influence got the better, the parties ſeverally opened their gates to the Athenian, or to the confederate forces.

Thucyd. ſparſim.

L. 2.

THE Peloponneſians were numerous and warlike, but not wealthy, and thus were bold and powerful in ſudden invaſion; but not being provided for a long campaign, their force quickly waſted, and the excurſion though impetuous, not being ſuſtained, was indeciſive.

Ibid.

PERICLES was aware of the force and of the weakneſs of the enemy, and not attempting to oppoſe the frequent inroads into Attica, left the country open to devaſtation, and ſought to repair the loſs

loſs through repriſals made by his fleets. The peninſula could double the muſter of Athens, but Athens had reſources which equalled the leſſer to the greater number; ſhe excelled in arts offenſive and defenſive; her great wealth ſupplied neceſſaries, and her expeditions were marked by vigour and perſeverance; her ſhipping wafted her troops where they were not expected, and of courſe were not to be reſiſted: nor proweſs, nor thouſands could balance theſe advantages. It was not till after receiving ſubſidies from the Perſian treaſury, and a leſſon of naval affairs dearly purchaſed by repeated and bloody defeat, that Sparta gained the final ſuperiority in this long contention. Indeed the enmity of theſe rival republics had ſo far gotten the better of any ſenſe of the glory of Greece, or even of general good policy,—if not tending to the immediate views and intereſts of this fatal war, that Athens as well as Sparta applied early and ſucceſſively to the Perſian king for aſſiſtance, who for awhile liſtened warily to their ſeveral proffers and pretenſions: it was his intereſt (and he purſued that intereſt) to leave the contending ſtates to waſte the very marrow of their ſtrength ere he granted any ſuccour; and then, by ſupporting the one or the other, as their weakneſs required his aid to raiſe them again for the fight, he might finally oppreſs together both the combatants.

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Thucyd. L. 8. Pauſan. Eliac. 1. Juſtin. L. 5. C. 1. & 3. Xenoph. Hiſt. 1.

THE confederate army each year of the war invaded Attica: on the firſt incurſion the farmer loſt much of his harveſt and his ſtock, and the people of courſe murmured,—but it was the demolition of the fine villas and the loſſes of the rich that excited the ſtrength of faction. With whatever arts, with whatever abilities, or with whatever integrity, the adminiſtration of public affairs may be conducted in a corrupt and licentious ſtate, and amidſt the burthens and viciſſitudes of war, individual grievances are ever pleaded as public grievances, and the intriguers of

Thucyd. L. 2. § 65. Plut. Vit. Periclis.

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party adopt and give a colouring of language to every reproach and complaint: hence its meaſures however juſt muſt be often checked, and even its permanency be at the hazard from popular diſſatisfactions worked upon by the tools of envy or competition. — Pericles had invidious *rumours* and *conſtructions* and *aſſertions*, taken up, emended, and brought forward by factious opponents, to combat with from day to day in theſe times of calamity, which ſoured the minds of men, and directed each floating accuſation towards him and his friends, as the moſt obvious ſcope: ſucceſſively his old preceptor Anaxagoras, and his *friend* Aſpaſia had been arraigned for impiety, or rather hereſy; his ſuperintendant Phidias had been accuſed of embezzlement, and finally himſelf of peculation; and Anaxagoras was baniſhed, and himſelf depoſed and fined: but he had too long habituated the people to his government, had ſhewn himſelf too able, and had made himſelf too neceſſary from the exigency of affairs, to be permitted to remain in a private ſituation; the bungling of others made way for his return to office, and the voice of the people called upon him to reſume his miniſtry. Notwithſtanding the late leſſon of odium reſulting from ſuch meaſure, he ſtill adhered to the policy of depending ſolely on the navy of the republic, and on the walls of Athens, as the arſenal of its ſtores, and refuge of its people; and again left the country around open to the ravages of the Spartan army.

Diodor. Sic. L. 12. Thucyd. L. 2. § 65. Plut. Vit. Periclis.

THE herdſmen flying their defenceleſs villages, thronged to the fortified towns, and there ſerved to mingle in the tumult and feed the appetite of carnage:—to be idle is to be vicious, and habits of vice and idleneſs are not readily foregone, and thus was honeſt induſtry in a great meaſure loſt, and Greece no longer to be the rich and laboured country, which of yore nurtured ſo many beauteous commonwealths!—theſe multitudes of men crouding all together within walls,—their temperament

ment of body as well as of mind was vitiated, and deſperation found new ſubject for its horrors and extravagance, in peſtilence and famine.—Who hath not read of the memorable plague [120] at Athens? then Pericles too died: perhaps it had been well for the republic, had he never been born! but his death was equally fatal to it, as his life: none other knew how to redreſs the evils he had occaſioned: he had uſed the people to the voice of a demagogue; his indeed, as it ever eſpouſed ſome beneficial plan, ſo was it a charm, that like Aaron's rod ſwallowed up all others, and with a ſuperiour magic, kept the aſſemblies conſiſtent to his purpoſe! On his death a thouſand pretenders aroſe, and with rival arts and equal weakneſs perplexed the public councils, diſunited the people, and led them to ruin and deſtruction. CHAP. I. Iſocra. orat. de pace.

DURING theſe diſputes at home for the miniſtry, the war continued to rage with various fortunes, but with uniform deſperation and violence. Animoſity was in theſe times carried to the moſt horrid exceſs; party in each little ſtate abetted the carnage of the great civil broil; when any town capitulated, private enmity and political diſſenſion demanded the murder of thoſe whom national hoſtility had ſpared; well were it if only ſome of the more zealous republicans, or moſt eſteemed and diſtinguiſhed nobles were the victims; often a whole people were maſſacred; the Platæans, the Melians, and many others were after conqueſt deliberately put to the ſword: nay! a *long and much debated* edict paſſed at Athens, "to extirpate without regard to "ſex or age, every citizen of the noble and populous Mity- "lene!"—"Mens minds (ſays Thucydides) at length became "totally depraved, and habituated, or to fraud from the neceſſities "or cruelty from the examples of the times; treachery was fore- "ſight, temerity was valour, maſſacre retaliation, and retaliation "juſtice; every vice took the name of ſome virtue, and every Thucyd. L. 3. Diod. Sic. L. 12. Ælian. Hiſt. var. L. 2. C. 9. Thucyd. L. 3. § 82.

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" virtue was degraded by ſome appellation that brought danger or " contempt on its adherents: when any party got the better, the " firſt ſlaughter was ſo horrid, that on a reverſe of fortune the " ſecond ſhould ſeem but juſtice, was not the ſecond encreaſed to " ſuch a pitch of cruelty as to make the firſt, comparatively " innocent!"

THUS hoſtile, as was the temper of the times, yet loſſes could not but be felt, and at ſome hours the bleſſings of peace could not but be deplored: the more deſperate the terms of engagement, it is in human nature, the more earneſtly to look to occaſions, though diſdaining the means of compromiſe; and pride, vain glory, and the vindictive paſſions ſo repugnant to every overture of accommodation, will yet retreat in favour of opportunites which ſeem rather the work of fortune, than of the parties themſelves. On the barren rock of Sphacteria, four hundred and twenty of the firſt warriors of Sparta were ſurrounded by the Athenian fleet; many of them were killed, and the remainder after a ſharp conteſt ſurrendered at diſcretion: Sparta humiliated by ſo great a loſs of her prime citizens ſued to Athens for peace; Athens for awhile haughtily rejected the propoſal, but Braſidas, with the ſpecious proclamation of general liberty, having gained over many of the towns of Thrace and Theſſaly; and with ſucceſsful arms, or more ſucceſsful clemency daily bringing over others from the Athenian dominion or alliance; they at length ceded to the requiſition, and agreed to a truce of one year, wherein they might have leiſure to concert a treaty; the ground work of which was to be an exchange of the priſoners taken at Sphacteria for the cities which Braſidas had gained poſſeſſion of, whether by conqueſt, or from defection. This truce was quickly infringed, Braſidas ſtill purſuing his victories in pretended ignorance of the ceſſation of arms: at length the Athenians ſent an army to oppoſe his progreſs under the command

Pauſan. in Meſſen.

Diodor. Sic. L. 12. Thucyd. L. 4.

mand of one Cleon, a braggart, who had talked himſelf into office by depreciating real merit, and by lauding his own, and that of the people: the cowardice and ignorance of this Cleon brought deſtruction on the army committed to his care, though ſuperior in appointment and numbers to the enemy: the Athenian forces were cut to pieces, but on the other ſide, the death of Braſidas ſeemed almoſt a balance to the victory; for though others might be found to lead the Spartan army, not one could pretend to that perſonal intereſt he had acquired throughout the country, by a perſeverance in the virtues (ſo uncommon to thoſe times) of candour, ſtrict faith, mercy, and beneficence. CHAP. I. Thucyd. L. 5.

BOTH parties now again recurred to negotiation, and in the eleventh year of the war, a peace was finally concluded between Athens and Sparta: theſe ſovereign ſtates too haſtily put their ſignatures to a treaty [121] ſufficiently explicit indeed with reſpect to themſelves, but too little provident of their acceſſaries in the war, whoſe welfare and even ſafety were no part of the conditions. Ibid. § 23. Juſtin. L. 3. C. 13. Diod. Sic. L. 12.

MOST of the ſubordinate cities during the courſe of hoſtilities, had at ſome time wavered in their faith; ſome had been marked by the moſt bloody perfidy, ſedition had raged in all, and the rancour of party ſuppreſſed, but not ſubdued, was ready to take the lead anew, as invited by opportunities of power: how ſhould the confederate cities thus ſtained with the crimes of treachery and cruelty, return without ſtipulated terms of oblivion and forgiveneſs to their former, and now offended, maſters? Democracies had become oligarchies, and ariſtocratic governments popular: were theſe ſtates to be lightly bartered, for the Athenian to depreſs the nobles of the one, and the Spartans to raiſe thoſe of the other, whilſt private revenge of the aggrieved but now powerful party on either ſide, finiſhed the work of depopulation,

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population, which war had ſo ſucceſsfully began? the diſſentient cities implored, and met with diſregard; they remonſtrated, and met with evaſions; they threatened,—and Athens and Sparta determined to obviate any diſpute on theſe points between themſelves, entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance, the very name of which they deemed ſufficient to ſilence every murmur of the malecontents, and neceſſitate an implicit acquieſcence in their ſupreme will.

Thucyd. L. 5. § 23.

Ibid. § 31. & ſeq.

ARGOS and Corinth however taking the lead, formed a confederacy wherewith to oppoſe the united powers, and enforce ſome conceſſion in their own favour. A ſecond war was now likely to break out more bloody than the firſt: Athens was become Spartan, and Sparta, Athenian; the ſubordinates of either had broken their engagements, and embarked in a new cauſe; all had changed ſides; hoſtilities now leaned ſtill nearer to civil diſcord; the deluge again threatened the fields, but from a yet more envenomed ſource; well doth the poet ſay, "*Alta ſedent civilis vulnera dextræ!*

Lucan. Pharſal. 1.

PERHAPS happily for the generality of Greece, though fatally for our republic, the ambition of an individual broke in upon theſe new compacts, and quickly rouſed again the old hereditary flame between Lacedæmon and Athens: ſome trivial difficulties had occurred on the exchange of places and priſoners, and ſome diſſatisfaction on diſmantling the fortreſs of Panactum by the Spartans, ere they ſurrendered it; and their ambaſſadors were now at Athens, with the view of accommodating theſe differences: "They are not to be truſted (exclaimed Alcibiades) [122] "liſten not to them, they have broken through the peace, this, "this is the time to humble your old, your haughty rivals; go "head the Argive league, and ſoon you will be at the head of "Greece:" his eloquence abetted by *falſehoods*, and every art

Thucyd. L. 5. § 41. & ſeq. Plut. Vit. Alcibiad.

and intrigue the orator's policy could ſuggeſt, at length prevailed with the aſſembly; the miniſters of Sparta were diſmiſſed; and the alliance with Argos was concluded: not long afterwards Argos was entered ſword in hand by the Spartans; but on their retreat, the oligarchy they had placed there was depoſed by popular inſurrection, and the eſtabliſhment of a democratic government cemented its union with Athens, who to other advantages accruing from this mighty acceſſion of ſtrength, might at length be ſaid to have a footing in the Peloponneſe. CHAP. I.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

OF NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE—OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION.

Herodot. Clio. Strabo. L. 9.

OF the various adventurers who originally ſettled in Attica, many (as was obſerved) had ſailed from diſtant coaſts; and the receſſion from their native clime, originating from a ſpirit of enterprize, and not being enforced by hoſtility, a return was by no means precluded; and the various motives of domeſtic attachment, and of love for the natal ſpot, and of wants and of neceſſities incident to a colony newly fixed in an uncultivated domain, conduced to render the commerce between the new and mother countries frequent and continued: a knowledge of navigation was thus early introduced into Attica, and the influence it had through every channel, every vein, every the minuteſt duct of the political body was powerful and big with conſequence.

THE practice of navigation ſo much facilitated the intercourſe of diſtant people, ſo much therein ſeemed a public benefit, whilſt it conduced to private intereſt, ſo much ſerved the enjoyments of the wealthy and the hopes of all; that in quick proceſs it was improved, extended, and became a general concern.

Thucyd. L. 1.

THE pirate and merchant were long ſynonimous characters, but good fortune or ability having elevated ſome traders to a ſuperior eminence in the profeſſion, they joined their example to diſcountenance, and power to quell the violences and depredations of their fellows: it was then, that on the baſis of more general intelligence, of growing wealth, and of concomitant authority,

thority, the merchant's occupation became reſpected, and the object of political inſtitution; the ſtate reaping ſubſidy and population from its practices, modelled itſelf into a ſyſtem of patronage to its purſuits, and gradually the whole commonwealth became dependant on the ſucceſs of its trade, and the proweſs of its navy.

THE minds of the Athenians opened by commercial intercourſe, re-operated on that commerce, and aided it with ſuch regulation as experience might authorize, or foreſight ſuggeſt; negotiation was to be foſtered but by equality, the influence of the citizen over his neighbour, might extend to the tranſactions of the merchant, and diffidence corrode the very root of credit and fair dealing;—thus ſeemed it neceſſary that the ſtate ſhould lean to the democratic [123] ſide, in ſubſerviency to the intereſts of thoſe who gave it grandeur and opulence. Xen. Pol. Ath.

THAT a ſtate ſhould by degrees mould to the ſpirit of its conſtituents; that an humane and impartial legiſlation, tending to favour the occupation of the citizen, ſhould attract the foreigner; that the public polity ſhould profit of the concourſe, and encreaſe in funds and population; that induſtry ſhould lead to riches, and riches to authority; that each citizen ſhould ſeek that channel through which his pride, his pleaſures, his ambition, his every paſſion was to be gratified; that, in a word, from the advantages of trade and navigation, a commonwealth ſhould become powerful, and its conſtituents poliſhed and opulent,—are ſubjects too well underſtood to need further detail! but this over-nutritious ſtimulative to greatneſs, bears it not ſomewhat poiſonous and deſtructive in its conſequences?—runs not ſuch a ſtate the career of a midnight revel, progreſſive through the various ſteps of civility, wit, and ſpirit, to the conjoined weakneſs and hot paſſion of ebriety; till grown drivelling and torpid, Plut. Vit. Themiſt. Iſocrat. Paneg. Xen. Pol. Ath. § 3. Id. de Vectigal.

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torpid, it is oppreſſed without reſiſtance and removed at pleaſure? In the moral [124], as in the phyſical world, the point of maturity is but that of a moment, whilſt encreaſe and decreaſe have their periods, and in general of reciprocal duration; with the ſame haſte a commercial nation accedes to empire, it ſpeeds to diſſolution, and the very circumſtances which firſt opened the proſpect of ſucceſs, prove the cauſe of its downfall.

Xen. Pol. Ath. C. 1. 2. Platon. Pol. L. 8.

Application and frugality, the firſt promoters of trade, finally become victims to the very ſucceſs of the enterprize; the importation of luxuries gradually enervates the induſtry that is in purſuit of them; the influx of money at once enhances the value of the manufacture, and renders the artificer indolent; other nations not yet emerged from competency, underſell the articles of life; ſome ſubterfuge, or reſource muſt be found to evade the rivalſhip,—the liberal arts have perhaps followed commerce to her elevation; their aſſiſtance is now required, invention is racked, and workmanſhip ſtudied of the moſt exquiſite kind, to allure the ſenſe, and put the compariſon of price at a diſtance; then too the mere underling artificer grows idle and monied, and puts in his claim with the reſt to be diſſolute and luxurious:—thus the whole community becomes corrupt [125], and begins to weigh light in the ſcale of nations. The laſt reſource from immediate ruin is the reſtriction of what it actually poſſeſſes to domeſtic circulation, nor can this preſerve it long; a marine armament is its only defence, and ſuch navy is not to be ſupported but on the baſis of a commercial one.

Wealth, though the leaſt certain mark of happineſs, is the ſureſt object of envy; avarice and impatience of inferiority beget envy and diſcontent in the neighbouring ſtates; the pride of riches knows not how to concede; a private argument becomes a public quarrel; war is declared; the fleets are found on the decline,

decline, the number of artiſans is multiplied tenfold, of ſailors decreaſed; no longer invincible at ſea, the commonwealth muſt have forces too by land; but whence are they to be drafted? the ſelfiſh citizen pleads occupation, the countrymen are but few; mercenaries muſt of force be collected; ſtill the republic is wealthy, and under hireling banners, it opens a campaign at leaſt with ſplendor; but theſe troops fight not their own cauſe, they are quickly diſpirited by loſs, they are mutinous in ſucceſs, they are unſupportable to the country, they are exhauſting to the ſtate, and whether victorious or not, the war concludes in ruinous debt and impoveriſhed reſources.

Such is the obvious career of every ſtate ſubſiſting on its commerce and depending on its navy, without enumerating the intermediate caſualties to which it is more eſpecially and in its very nature expoſed; of theſe ſome, and the moſt fatal too, may originate in its very force and opulence;—ſuch is the facility its navy affords of great and diſtant enterprize, too often ſuggeſted by a vain people, and adopted by a corrupt adminiſtration; little conſiderate that the wealth and power of the nation are then on a ſingle venture, and as what is idly undertaken, is ſeldom wiſely purſued, are generally on the worſt of ventures. To the general tendency towards decline, and to the phrenzy of expedition, let us add fortuitous loſſes and a defective government, and we then have in view the evils which co-operated to haſten on the republic of Athens in its ruinous courſe, and which accelerated the hour of diſſolution. The town thronged with ſlaves, merchants, allies, and foreigners, of all ſorts, expoſed not to immediate view the ravages which peſtilence and war had made in the numbers of the citizens; fourteen thouſand and forty were numbered in the cenſus of Pericles at the commencement of hoſtilities, but five thouſand were the moſt that ever from this time aſſembled on the moſt

Thucyd. L. 3. & 6.

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general and important concern; yet the ſtreets wore the appearance of plenty and population, the commonalty were delighted with the view, and maddened with that elation which each demagogue for private purpoſes had artfully wrought up, and now coloured afreſh with the Argive treaty, they gave ear to every flattery, and filled with the admiration of the ſpeaker, and of themſelves, harmonized their vanity with his ambition, and accorded to the moſt extravagant projects of new and extenſive conqueſt.

Thucyd. L. 2. Diod. Sic. L. 13.

DURING the previous conteſt with the Peloponneſe, the Athenians had from time to time meddled in the diſputes of Sicily, and reliſhing the ſweets of pillage, which that opulent country afforded, they had become ſo enamoured with this little ſecondary war, in which, without hazard, they had acted the profitable part of pirates, rather than the dangerous one of fair combatants; that on concluſion of the peace at Camarina they teſtified their diſapprobation of the treaty, by baniſhing or fining every officer of theirs who had acceded to it: another opportunity now offered for recommencing hoſtilities there; when diſregarding even appearances, to interpoſe between the petty ſtates of Selinunté and Egeſté, they voted an armament of ſuch mighty force, as could be deſtined for no other than the reduction of the whole iſland; and they made their purpoſe the more evident by commiſſioning their leaders at any rate to purſue the war, and on failure of other pretext, to rip up the old quarrel of Lentini and Syracuſe, and make that a pretence for forthwith attacking the capitol of Sicily.

Thucyd. L. 6.

Juſtin. L. 4. C. 4. Diod. Sic. L. 13. Thucyd. L. 6. Plut. Vit. Niciæ. ejuſd. Vit. Alcibid.

WEAKLY as this expedition was determined on, yet more weak was the appointment of the three leaders of the armament [126]: Nicias, a very dilatory, and very old man, Lamachus, the Lepidus of the triumvirate, and Alcibiades the Antony,—equally voluptuous, equally brave, artful, and unprincipled: this laſt

laſt man was yet a more improper object of choice on other accounts; previous to the embarkment he was charged with a crime [127] that was even capital;—without pardon, without trial, or even a determined period of trial, the cauſe on which his life was to depend was left undecided, and he was permitted to depart, diſtruſted by, and diſtruſting the citizens; and at the head of a ſoldiery that to a man adored him.

SCARCELY landed on the Sicilian ſhore, Alcibiades was ſummoned to return and appear before the aſſembly, when all who might abet or ſupport him were abſent from the judicature; but he was aware of the policy of his adverſaries, eſcaped his conductors, and fled to Sparta: thus did the Athenians truſt this man with power, enter into all his views, and with a vaſt and expenſive force give action to his deſigns, and then ill-uſed and turned him looſe in the bitterneſs of diſguſt and diſappointment to betray their policy, to counteract their ſchemes, and inſtruct the enemy of what was meant, and what meant to accompliſh it; what was ſtrong, what weak, and where and how his country might be annoyed, and all its projects oppoſed and baffled. He ſhewed the Spartans, that the Sicilians, if conquered, muſt be conquered from want of experience and unanimity; that they had men ſufficient, but that to make theſe men ſoldiers and bring them properly to the field, they wanted ſome truſty veteran officer to inſtruct and lead them on:—He told the Spartans that their own troops might be more profitably employed in Greece; that their frequent invaſions of Attica had not hitherto been ſo effective as they could wiſh, but that the reaſon was obviouſly their omitting, their ſtrangely omitting to fortify and ſecure ſome ſtrong hold in a province, when they were maſters of it, and whence they might at leiſure harraſs the country, intercept parties, and keep the capitol itſelf in conſtant alarm. Ibid.

THE

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THE Spartans on their next excurſion, ſtopped to ſtrengthen and garriſon the fortreſs of Decelea, only twelve miles diſtant from Athens; and immediately they diſpatched Gylippus with a ſmall force to inſpirit and diſcipline the Syracuſan armies.

Frontin. Stratag. L. 1. C. 3. Diod. Sic. L. 13.

THE Athenian armament, of which Nicias now was the ſole General (for Lamachus on the firſt onſet was killed) was completely, and even richly fitted out; its equipment of arms and ſtores, and its complement of troops ſeemed adequate to the great buſineſs it was ſent on; but at ſuch diſtance from home, nothing but conſtant ſucceſs could find this army ſupport; and even victory, if ſharply conteſted, was fatal, whilſt each death was irreparable from the difficulties of recruiting, and the army was ſubject to gradually diminiſh and waſte away: Nicias indeed ſent for ſuccour to Hetruria, and even Carthage, but little had his emiſſaries to plead in favour of their requiſition, and they met every where with ſlight or with reproof.

Plut. Vit. Nicix. Juſtin. L. 4. C. 4. Thucyd. L. 6.

PLUTARCH tells us, that in the arrogance of ſucceſſive triumphs during the adminiſtration of Pericles, the Athenian orators had in the aſſemblies, mentioned Hetruria, Carthage, and Sicily, as ſubjects of future conqueſt.—When Lamachus, Alcibiades, and Nicias, were choſen to command, ere a ſhip was under ſail, or a ſoldier on board, they convened the ſenate, in order to arrange the future government of Sicily; and to thoſe little converſant in political abſurdities, I ſhould hardly venture to ſtate on leſs authority than that of Diodorus, the wiſe reſult of their debates; namely, a decree, that the Selinuntians and Syracuſans ſhould be ſold to captivity, and the other republics of that iſland be permitted to enjoy their preſent ſtate, paying tribute and acknowledging their due allegiance to Athens. Such arrogance of conduct and language is ever felt, and at due time reſented; Carthage too was a naval power, and every example of

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

Diod. Sic. L. 13. § 3.

of hiſtory teaches us, that the ſpirit of ſuch force and views is ever intolerant of a ſimilarity of pretenſions; in its courſe ever leads to competition, and from its very nature, is pregnant with ſeeds of diſſention, tending to embitter the emulation it excites. There is ever a jealouſy in the friendſhips, and a phrenzy in the hoſtilities of nations ſeverally dependant on their commerce and marine: the conteſt for riches is complicated with the conteſt for power, and the individual paſſions join iſſue with national reſentments on each point of litigation; the private ardour of gain is ever finding ſubjects for ambition to work upon; the field of acquiſition is ever ſought by the moſt enterprizing ſpirits; the accumulation and the loſs of fortunes thereon, whether of the merchant, or of the commonwealth, are more extenſive and more ſudden; thus deſperation on the one ſide, and exultation on the other, are ever at variance; and laſtly, the ſources of diſcontent and of hoſtility ebb from every haven to which a common commerce is directed. Hence, and from the vicinity too of Sicily, it might be ſuppoſed that Carthage would rather counteract than aſſiſt the invaſion of the Athenians:—yet in their firſt onſet they were irreſiſtable; they ſpeedily over-ran a large tract of country, ſeized on Catana, and inveſted Syracuſe: the citizens often ſallied forth, and were as often beaten; the enemies fleet rode triumphantly in the very harbour, and a circumvallation nearly ſurrounded that vaſt city. At this moment of diſtreſs Gylippus arrived, but with ſo ſmall a force, that even the wary ſuperſtitious old Nicias treated the reinforcement with deriſion, and no ways laboured to prevent the diſembarkment: ſoon however its importance appeared; Gylippus took the lead of the Syracuſans, animated them with ſpeeches; recovered ſome ſmall forts, elated them with their proweſs; diſciplined, formed, and directed them; and finally ſhowed that art and experience could finiſh the work nature had begun, and that not ſhe,

Plut. Vit. Nic. Thucyd. L. 6.

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but the military tutor is in fault, if every man is not to be made a ſoldier.

Diod. Sic. L. 13. Thucyd. L. 7.

THE Syracuſans now often beat the Athenians on equal terms, and the force of the invaders, from the ſucceſſive ſkirmiſhes was ſo waſted, that not even a ſtrong reinforcement ſent from Athens under Demoſthenes, could enable it long to make head againſt the more numerous, and now as warlike Sicilians. Demoſthenes and Nicias were ſoon obliged to act on the defenſive; at length even a retreat was cut off by the blockade of their fleet within the harbour; they attempted to force a paſſage, they were repulſed, the ſhipping deſtroyed, and their condition almoſt hopeleſs. The forlorn alternative was then in agitation, of attempting a retreat by land, and ſeeking ſome city, which the Athenian name might yet induce to relieve, and ſupply them with the means of returning home: the Syracuſans apprized of their deſign, awaited to attack them on their march; they harraſſed, they ſurrounded them, and at length forced them to a diſcretionary ſurrender: Nicias and Demoſthenes were put to death, ſome were thrown into dungeons, ſome made ſlaves of, and ſome few diſmiſſed [128].

Diod. Sic. L. 13. Ælian. L. 5. Cap. 10. Iſocrat. Orat. περὶ εἰρήνης.

THUS ended this fatal expedition, on which ten thouſand talents had been expended, and in which Ælian ſays, the Athenians loſt forty thouſand of their beſt troops, and a fleet of two hundred and forty ſail, ſhips of war, tranſports and others.

IN the courſe of this important war, no ſubject ſuggeſts greater matter of political ſpeculation than the expedition to Sicily; probably it had long been in agitation, and when Pericles ſo earneſtly preſſed the alliance with Corcyra, his views might have been directed to this object, as the reſult of the footing he thereby

thereby gained in the Italian ſeas: Alcibiades was his favourite ſcholar in the miniſterial cabinet, and might be preſumed to have been well acquainted with his ſtate principles and deſigns; and perhaps in this undertaking did but adopt and purſue the ſchemes [129] of Pericles: but this he did too haſtily and inconſiderately, ere the plan was ripe; ere the occaſion was ſpecious and means ſuitable, or the ſeaſon of the times was ſufficiently temperate to warrant the attempt to graft ſo large a branch of power on the old ſtock: he hurried into the Sicilian war all at once, and precipitated the Athenian ſtate into a meaſure which required all its ſtrength, at a time when that ſtrength was ſomewhat exhauſted, and what remained was weakened by a diviſion of poſts and armament neceſſary from the variety of its enemies;—and weakened too by domeſtic diſſentions, by the intrigues and by the treaſons of leading men, and by the fluctuation of popular aſſemblies. Even had the ſuperiority of Athens been abroad deciſive, and its interiour adminiſtration able and firm, great were the dangers and difficulties to be obviated in ſuch diſtant enterprize; the invidious appearance of aggreſſorſhip, the alienation of general good-will ever attending it, the deſperate reſiſtance of thoſe who fight for property and liberty, the languor of troops ſo far removed from their own country, the difficulties of recruiting, the caſualty of ſtores, the hazard of ſhipping, and laſtly, the advantages which may be taken by rival ſtates of each diſaſter, or even of the occaſions, which ſo great expenditure, and the abſence of ſo much national force may too frequently afford: in the courſe of this war each of theſe had its influence, and they combined together to cruſh the power of Athens, and to leave an awful leſſon to future ſtateſmen, and to maritime powers!

Plut. Vit. Alcib. and Per.

Thucyd. L. 2. § 65.

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OF THE CHARACTER OF ALCIBIADES—CONTINUATION OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR—REVOLUTIONS AT ATHENS—CONCLUSION OF THE WAR—SUBVERSION OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OLIGARCHY.

CHARITY covers not more ſins in religion, than affability in worldly intercourſe; an attentive complacency is a refined ſort of flattery that none can reſiſt; nor is it wonderful that every man ſhould be in good humour with a talent, which puts every man in good humour with himſelf. There is no one who practiſes aſſiduouſly the art of raiſing the ſelf-importance of thoſe he may accoſt, but reaps a good profit in proportion to the dexterity of his addreſs; but extra-advantages have belonged to many, both ancient and modern profeſſors of this diffuſive and delicate ſpecies of practical adulation, advantages for which they were indebted to the bounties of nature or of fortune, and which mere addreſs can never hope to emulate: the man of learning, who liſtens reſpectfully to a quotation; the man of ſcience, to a ſyſtem; the man of wit, to an opinion; and the man of wealth and power who liſtens reſpectfully to any thing, will thereby give a ſelf-conſequence to the ſpeaker, who will heartily repay the donor with a degree of gratitude proportionate to his own unworthineſs; which unworthineſs, as few have in any extenſive ſenſe, learning, ſcience, wit, wealth, or power, muſt be the lot of the multitude, and of courſe the favour attending the complaiſance of the wiſe, and particularly of the great, be much, and almoſt univerſal.

FROM

FROM theſe reflections I have often been induced to take much from the ſtock of virtues, allowed in great *conciliatory* characters, and to return them whence they originated,—on the bounty of mankind; which, for every point of lordly dignity given up, is ready to laviſh all its powers of eulogy, and elevate to the ſkies every king who condeſcends to walk the earth, however lamely he may walk it, with his fellow-creatures.

WE hence can eaſily reſolve the wonder of Cornelius Nepos, that Alcibiades exceeded Thraſybulus ſo much in renown, whilſt Thraſybulus was his companion in, and acceſſary to each glorious exploit, and had beſides engaged in ſo noble and excentric a one, in which Alcibiades bore no part: Alcibiades of noble deſcent, of great wealth, a fine perſon, quick parts, ſome learning, and much military ſpirit, was perhaps one of thoſe heroes, who have enjoyed many of their more extraordinary qualities from the generous retribution of their cotemporaries; who ever will admire the man, whoſe admiration is creditable, and ſeems conferred on them.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Thraſyb.

Platon. Alcib. Dial. Corn. Nep. Vit. Alcib. Plut. Vit. Ejuſd.

IMITATION of manners, is perhaps the moſt ſuperiour ſort of this ſuperiour flattery; had Alcibiades eat but one meſs of black broath, his auſterity would have been noted and enlarged upon at Sparta; had he uttered only two metaphors, and drank two quarts in Perſia, his abilities therein, from this ſmall ſtock, might have ſwelled to a fame that ſhould rival the hyperboles of the magi, or the ſepulchral inſcription of the ſot Artaxerxes [130]. I think therefore the verſatility [131] of this genius ſo ſtrongly and ſo much inſiſted on, may have been nothing wonderful, but that merely he had the art not ſo common in thoſe days, of polite and aſſiduous inſincerity.

Ibid.

Athenæ. L. 12. P. 533.

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ALCIBIADES ill repaid the hoſpitality of Agis, by adultery with his queen Timæa; and this and other circumſtances obliged him to quit Sparta: at the concluſion of the Sicilian war, he had taken refuge with Tiſſaphernes, and was now ingratiating himſelf by profeſſing the intereſts of the Perſian, and giving information and advice ruinous to the liberties of his country: his arguments finally influenced the Satrap to take part in the diſturbances of Greece, and to make a treaty with the Spartans, by which they gained a conſiderable acceſſion of what they ſo much wanted, and what perhaps alone they had hitherto been deficient in, money and ſhipping: Syracuſe too, grateful to her deliverers, liſted under their banner, and aſſiſted with her fleets to humble thoſe who had ſo wantonly been her aggreſſors.

Athenæ. L. 12. Juſtin. L. 5. C. 2. Thucyd. L. 8.

HAD the Athenians proved ſucceſsful in Sicily, it was generally underſtood that the reſult of ſuch conqueſt, might prove the ſubverſion of the entire liberties of Greece; hence many ſtates which had hitherto remained neuter, now declared againſt Athens; and Alcibiades buſied himſelf in perſuading its old tributaries to quit ſo deſperate, as well as unjuſt a cauſe, nor complicate their fate with that of the republic: Chios, Clazomené, and the Erythræi, ſat the example of defection.

Ibid. § 2.

Ibid. § 14.

THE ſovereignty of Athens oppreſſive in peace, and harſh and even cruel in times of war, was ill ſuited to retain its influence, when its force was gone: moderation, juſtice, and clemency alone enſure the adherence of ſubordinate provinces and allies, at times when their ſervice is moſt wanted; theſe conſtitute the true ſtrength of a ſtate;—deſpotiſm is but the gigantic phantom of power, good-will and the ſenſe of national welfare, intereſt, and protection give it genuine ſubſtance: when during the calamities of the ſecond Punic war, the Pontiani, the Pæſtani, and

many of the ſouthern ſtates of Italy ſtood firm to Rome; it was, ſays Livy, "*Quia juſto et moderato regebantur imperio,—quod unum* "*vinculum fidei eſt, melioribus parêre.*

THE total loſs of the army in Sicily, the vaſt preparations making againſt them, and the ſucceſſive falling off of their allies and tributaries, filled the minds of the Athenians with conſternation; every other reſource ſeemed exhauſted, and for a laſt and deſpondent exertion, they voted the employment of the thouſand talents ſet apart for the immediate defence of Athens, and a fleet equipped with its laſt ſad relicts of opulence and authority again took the ſeas. Macrob. Sat. 1. C. 11. Thucyd. L. 8. § 15.

THIS republic that ſo little while agone had menaced the united powers of the Peloponneſe and Sicily, was now reduced to œconomical reſtriction, and the narrow policy of defence, to the withdrawing its garriſons from diſtant parts, to the convoying daily ſubſiſtence for the city, and to the covering the intercourſe with fortifications at Sunium: and in lieu of glorious and extenſive enterprize, its final exertion of naval power was neceſſitated to ſecondary expeditions, in ſupport of ſome little town, or in recovery of ſome ſmall iſland, during which another, and another went over to the enemy, and in deſpight of perſeverance, its empire was mutilated, and its force diminiſhed. Ibid. § 4. Diod. Sic. L. 13. Xen. Hiſt. 1.

THE revolt of Rhodes was announced, that of Eubæa hourly expected:—what hopes, what reſource in this diſtreſs?—"Per- "haps (it was ſaid) Alcibiades might be perſuaded to return; "Alcibiades is in habits of amity with Tiſſaphernes, and his in- "tereſt might bring over the Perſian to our aſſiſtance:"—the idea was with eagerneſs embraced, and the temper and inclinations of his countrymen were immediately hinted to the exiled chief; but now aware of the fluctuating favour of a corrupted populace, Thucyd. L. 8. § 44. Xen. Hiſt. 1.

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populace, Alcibiades would not truſt to this momentary good-will; he would return, and boaſted he would bring with him all the force of Perſia, but it ſhould be on condition that the Democracy was aboliſhed, and the government veſted in a few, amongſt whom he was to be, and probably to be the chief.

Juſtin. L. 5. C. 3.

Thucyd. L. 8. Iſocrat. orat. de Bigiſ.

ON the promulgation of theſe propoſals, the Athenian aſſembly broke into a variety of factions, each adopting ſuch ſentiments, party, or plan, as ſuited with his temper and circumſtances; each thinking for himſelf, and none for the commonwealth. In every other ſtate the inteſtine commotions being ſuſtained by only two parties, by thoſe who favoured the nobles, and by thoſe who ſupported the pretenſions of the people, ſubſided quickly on the ſuperiority attained by one or the other ſide, and the bloodſhed of a few principals waſhed away the dregs of ſedition: but the anarchy of the Athenian aſſembly admitted not of ſo eaſy a ſettlement: every citizen almoſt was a party; one man preferred one, and another, another form of government; ſome ſet up for themſelves, and ſome abetted the pretenſions of any one whom they had a little known, or much heard of; many yet ſtickled for the commonwealth, and a few remembering the old-faſhioned conduct of their anceſtors, ſaid, "that the duty of a freeman was to bequeath the ſame free-"dom to his ſon", and talked of dying for their liberties and country: but the worſt, and not the leaſt numerous ſet of men, were thoſe who without principle or ſcheme, merely ſought to keep up or encreaſe commotion, with a view of bettering themſelves, as the incendiary who firſt lights, then to pillage from, the fire.

Diod. Sic. L. 13. Thucyd. L. 8.

A COALITION of four hundred of the moſt powerful citizens, at length with the murder of the few virtuous advocates of the old republic bore down the other factions, and by a vote diſſolving the

the former compact of government, existed a self-created senate, arbitrary and supreme, over every other department whether civil or military: to silence the clamours of the discontented, they decreed the adjunction of five thousand more to their number; but this conciliatory decree was never carried into execution, and the powers of the state were solely and actually vested in the four hundred who had at first arrogated authority. CHAP. III.

At least a moiety of the Athenian denizens were during these domestic troubles aboard the fleet at Samos; those who in the extreme exigency of the republic, had enlisted in its armies and navy, the service of which from the distresses and diminution of the state, was become daily more frequent and more dangerous, could not be deemed the worst of its citizens; at any rate military discipline must have given them habits far wide of that licentiousness, which the turbulency of the assemblies, the arts of a demagogue and examples of vice, and instances of impunity produced at home;—their dissention from the innovations at Athens was thus to be expected; and indeed, without recurring to more extraordinary reasons than the one so common, and so well known,—that they had no part in the transaction, and that men are not generally apt to acquiesce in the work of others, and implicitly approve, what they think themselves much concerned, and little consulted in. Ibid.

The fleets and army stationed at Samos dispatched a messenger to Alcibiades, and putting him at their head set up for reformers of the commonwealth, in opposition to the faction at home who had dissolved it: this altercation of army and senate ended in the submission of the latter; their decrees were annulled, and the prior constitution in some measure restored: Alcibiades, recalled and supported by the republican party, could not at this time openly propose his favourite oligarchy, but yet apprehensive of Thucyd. L. 8. § 53. & seq. Plut. Vit. Alcibiad.

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that fickleneſs of diſpoſition in the people, he had ſo often experienced, and once had ſo nearly fallen a victim to,—he was determined to effect ſuch alteration [132], at leaſt in the government, as ſhould enſure it to the hands of thoſe, who, from wealth, good ſenſe, or other foundation of ſelf-conſequence, might not be expoſed to waver to the breath of every noiſy declaimer, and compliment his oratory with a ſacrifice of whomever he ſhould demand from private envy, diſlike, or rivalſhip: Alcibiades had the addreſs to gain his point, by ſtill preſerving the forms of the ancient conſtitution, but confining the number of legal citizens to five thouſand, which, from his intereſt in the choice of the majority of, he thought to make a party of rather than a ſtate; and to mould and direct at pleaſure.

COURAGE is generally ſuppoſed to be conſtitutional, or a quality primarily inherent in the connected ſoul and body: but like all other faculties or virtues beſtowed upon us, it is not ſo remarkable in the firſt inſtance, as in the powers we have of increaſing or adding to it: as the ſtrongeſt natural underſtanding will yield to one of leſs acuteneſs well taught and well methodized; or as the beſt natural memory will not retain ſo well as that of the practiſed actor; ſo the fierceſt ſpirit from birth, will not act with the intrepidity of a veteran, whom diſcipline, or habit, or a particular cauſe, or a particular General, or other caſualties, will at times induce to face the moſt imminent peril with more than natural courage. Valour is founded in ſelf-confidence;—that confidence as it flies from inſtinct to opinion, not only more eaſily finds ſupport, but from the conflux of paſſions flowing into its aid, that ſupport too is ſtronger; again it is more uncertain, whilſt the cement of theſe aſcititious emotions is extra-dependant on ſeaſon and circumſtance; and it readily vaniſhes or returns, as it is urged or repreſſed by the mind

mind in fluctuation from ſuggeſtions of hope, to ſuggeſtions of fear. CHAP. III.

NOTHING inſtills a more undaunted ſpirit into the breaſt of ſoldiers, than, an often moſt capricious notion of, and favour for, ſome particular leader :—With what courage did the name of Charles inſpire the Swedes? what ſoldier could ſhrink, when backed with the clamour of "Cæſar and his fortune?"—As ſtrong an inſtance now occurs of military ſpirit towering to the very heavens from a ſimiliar baſis, and ſo idly built, that the fabric was fitted to no other foundation: the name of Alcibiades had caught with the ſoldiery, and the ardour awakened by the magic of this mere name, inſpirited the whole army to that degree, that from their ſtate of abaſement and humiliation, the Athenians once again aſſumed the airs of victory; they won the day at Cynoceme, at Byzantium, at Cyzicum; they talked of nought but conqueſt;—and providing for the next defeat of the Spartans, they arrogantly paſſed a previous vote to cut off the right-hand of every priſoner they ſhould take.

Plut. Vit. Alcibiad.

Diod. Sic. L. 13. Thucyd. L. 8. Xen. Hiſt. 1.

AT the battle of Cyzicum, the Spartan admiral was killed, and his fleet ſo completely deſtroyed, that his lieutenant Harpocrates wrote to the Ephori, "that all was loſt." Juſtin ſays, "that Sparta humbled by theſe repeated ſucceſſes of the verſatile "Athenian, actually ſued for peace, and that the overture was "rejected through the ſelfiſh views of thoſe who had the lead "and influence in the aſſemblies of the people:" Conſidering how much Athens had loſt, that her venture lay on the laſt ſtake of funds and military force, and that the criſis was ſo peculiarly favourable for negotiation of terms, the haſtily rejecting ſuch proffer of peace may ſeem unaccountable to thoſe whoſe political experience or ſpeculations do not extend to the knowledge of how much the private views of a few able and ambitious

Ibid.

Juſtin. L. 5. C. 4.

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men operate in the concerns of a great and free nation which is become ſo depraved, as generally to bend to the calls of vanity and avarice. The fair outſide of corruption, the ruddy and rich ſuperficies which ever covers the diſeaſes of a commercial ſtate, was miſtaken perhaps by ſome ignorant and innocent men for the ſymptom of wholeſome vigour; but the majority of the Athenian aſſembly were influenced (it may be ſuppoſed) by the aſcendancy of riches and honours, which a continuance of the war promiſed, to the vain who thought themſelves able, to the buſy who courted employ, or to the mercenary who looked for emolument from office, contract, or command. This refuſal of terms, a refuſal abſolutely originating in the weakneſs, and not in the real force of the republic, was the cauſe of new ſtrength accruing to the enemy; and the confederates gained alliances and ſuccour from the deteſtation of Athenian pride, which they could have gained by no conciliatory or authoritative means of their own: this occaſion once loſt, a ſpeedy reverſe of fortune ſhowed its importance, and ſhowed too, that the regret of the multitude leads not in the conſequence to contrition and amendment, but to private diſſention and crimination, and to general tumult and anarchy.

Plut. Vit. Alcibiad. Xen. Hiſt. 1.

ALCIBIADES, after his ſucceſſive victories, returned in triumph to Athens, where he was received with the moſt wanton exceſs of favour and applauſe; all the decrees that had paſſed to his prejudice were cancelled, every mark of public confidence was beſtowed: yet many in the aſſemblies could not regard that man without diſtruſt, who had originated, and who had defeated the ſcheme of conqueſt in Sicily, who had connected the wealth of Aſia with the arms of Sparta, who had quitted the Spartan from perſonal apprehenſions, whoſe connection with Tiſſaphernes was unprincipled, and whoſe regard to his country, to its conſtitution, and intereſts, was recently proved to be a mere pre-

tence, covering his private neceſſity, if not deſigns. The haſty and violent attachment of the commonalty however bore down every other conſideration: Alcibiades was veſted with the ſupreme command by ſea and land, and immediately went to join the fleet near Epheſus: with the intention of concerting meaſures with Thraſybulus then at Phocæa, he ſoon after left his command to Antiochus; Antiochus in diſobedience of his orders, took occaſion during his abſence to ſeek excluſive honours in a battle with Lyſander, in which he was beaten, and many of his ſhips taken and deſtroyed: the diſcontented ſpirit which lurked in the minds of ſome penetrating and ſome envious men, on this occaſion began to work openly in Athens to the prejudice of Alcibiades: ſo many arguments as were to be urged from his paſt conduct, it was not difficult to even mould the event of his abſence during the battle into treachery; extreme popular partialities were ſucceeded by as extreme diſſatisfaction and anger; and this famous leader, whoſe verſatile endowments and various viciſſitudes, ſtamped him at once the favourite, and the ſport of nature and of fortune, was ſuperſeded in his command, and ten officers ſent out to ſupplace him, inveſted with equal powers and authority. The Athenians from the above defeat weakened and diſpirited fled before Callicratidas to Mitylene; but the exertions of the new commanders quickly reinforced the fleet, and at Arginuſæ they again faced and fought the Spartans, and took or deſtroyed ſixty-nine of their ſhips: a ſingular fatality however precluded the ſervice or uſe which might at other periods have reſulted from ſo great a victory. Whilſt the laſt reſources of the ſtate, both as to men and funds were thus in action, a general ſenſe of danger, complicated with general depravity, took a hardened and deſperate courſe in the minds of this people, habituated during twenty-eight years to the unremitting horrors of war, and to the ſenſe of ſo many evils they had cauſed, and had reciprocally ſuſtained: fears and incertitude of this

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fort ever characteriſed by ſuſpicion and cruelty, operated on each occaſion, and inſtigated a frequency of wanton accuſation and unjuſt ſentence:—*The democracy was thus become tyrant!* Nor was an object at any time wanting whereon to wreak the phrenzy excited by the bitter feelings and fears, which a conſciouſneſs of venal, cruel, and impolitic conduct, brought collectively home to the minds of the citizens; for the long career of viciſſitudes had divided the people into diſſentious bands of party, ſeverally under a demagogue diſſatisfied with one commander, or partial to another; and each conqueſt and each loſs was the mere food of faction, and every event of war regarded more from the opportunity of individual elevation or ruin, as favour or enmity might prevail, than from views to national welfare and reſource. The conſequences of the ſea-fight of Arginuſæ ſtrongly mark this ſpirit of the times: whether wrecked in the conflict, or merely by tempeſtuous weather, twelve of the Athenian veſſels had foundered in the courſe of this battle, and the council of war ordered two captains, Theramenes and Thraſybulus, with a detachment of forty-ſeven ſail to ſuccour, and take up the crews of the veſſels that were loſt; from the ſwell of the ſea, or from other cauſes, this ſervice was not performed, and Theramenes obnoxious to accuſation (as appears from a ſpeech of Critias on another occaſion) anticipated the attack and criminated his commanders, as not having given due and timely aſſiſtance to the ſhips in diſtreſs, wreſting to his purpoſe an old law by which thoſe "who acted to the detriment of the republic;" and another, by which "thoſe who betrayed the intereſts of the ſtate," were to be thrown over the precipice, a tenth of their goods to be conſecrated to the gods, and the remainder to be confiſcated to public uſes: the matter was firſt agitated in the ſenate, and their decree referred to a deciſion of the aſſembly, both as to *fact*, and the *merits* of the caſe; Callixenus (a partizan of Theramenes) recited or expounded the *ſenatus-conſultum*, as adjudging

Xen. Hiſt. 1.

Ibid. L. 2.

ing together the eight admirals to death, in caſe the ſimple fact was aſcertained and declared by the votes of the ſeveral tribes; the ſenate diſavowed the terms, or the interpretation of the edict, and forbade the ſuffrage on ſuch ſtatement of the queſtion: the party of Theramenes then clamoured for the rights of the people, urged on the diſpute between ſenate and aſſembly, and complicated their cauſe with the prejudices and pretenſions of the citizens, who were taught to ſuppoſe that the alteration of a decree once propounded to them by the Prytanes, was an infringement of the conſtitution; and without enquiry into the truth of either, admitting both the fact and the deduction, they entered into the views of the accuſer with ſuch heat and violence, that finally they intimidated the ſenate into a ſurrender of their dignity and juſtice: under ſuch circumſtances, and in ſuch ſhape the buſineſs was ſubmitted to a deciſion of the people. Euryptolemus was the only one who ventured in the aſſembly to plead the cauſe of the admirals; "he urged, that the accuſer was the "ſole delinquent, if there was any; he ſhowed the folly too "of a general and ſweeping ſentence, when the opinions and "conduct of thoſe before them might have been ſo various; "that in fact Diomedon had voted in the council of war for the "whole fleet aſſiſting the crews of the foundered ſhips, that "Thraſylus had given his voice for a large detachment being "ſent on that ſervice; that another of the admirals, now on "trial, was himſelf ſaved from a wreck;" and he cloſed his ſpeech with moving, "that the parties be heard *ſeverally* in "defence." This oration, apparently genuine, and cited at length in the hiſtories of Xenophon, had a temporary effect; the votes of the aſſembly coincided with the opinion of Euryptolemus: one Menecles then roſe, and pleaded to an informality in the proceedings, the debate was protracted to-night, and then adjourned. On the morrow Theramenes led to the forum all the friends of thoſe loſt at Arginuſæ cloathed in mourning,

and

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and every other artifice was uſed to inflame the minds of the people; in the moment of heat and paſſion the urns were tendered, and a majority dropt their bean into that vaſe, which bore the ſentence of condemnation to death againſt the eight admirals without reſerve or exception.

I HAVE entered more particularly into this detail, not only as it characteriſes the ſtate of Athens at this period, but as it accelerated the public ruin: what after this could be expected in the city but virulence of reproach and animoſity? what firmneſs or wiſdom could be expected in the adminiſtration of affairs? what ſpirit in the fleets and armies of the republic, but that of ſedition? what in their leaders but diffidence or treachery, none daring to act in concert, and all in ſubſerviency to, or in apprehenſion of, thoſe under their command? Every action ſubſequent to this prepoſterous judgment was diſaſtrous, and ſeemed to refer to its fatality [133]. To every attentive reader of hiſtory, there will appear to have been at ſome period, in that of every nation, a ſeries of fortunate caſualties tending to its elevation; and at another period, a courſe of evils accelerating its decline;—ſome tiſſue of arbitrary events ſo forcibly urged, ſo intricately connected, and ſo efficaciouſly purſued, that Providence ſhould ſeem therein a direct and ſpecial agent working to ſome great and neceſſary end, and giving thereto the moſt unequal chances of policy and enterprize a uniform contingency, evading all concluſions from human calculation and foreſight! Such fatality ſeemed now preſſing upon the ſtate and fortunes of Athens! Near Ægoſpotamos, the ſailors and ſoldiers looſe from diſcipline, were feaſting or wandering aſhore, when Lyſander attacked the ſhipping; the Athenians hurried on board in diſmay and confuſion; their admiral Conon on the firſt onſet, mindful of the recent example, fled rather from his troops, and from the judicature of the aſſembly, than from

Plut. Vit. Lyſand.

from the enemy, and took refuge in Cyprus; thus the victory of Lyſander became eaſy and deciſive: in this laſt battle of Ægoſpotamos, the Athenian navy was totally deſtroyed, a multitude ſlain, and three thouſand Athenians who were taken, were adjudged to death; the plea for this ſeverity was the cruel deſign adopted of mutilating the Spartan captives, had their enemy been victorious; thus horrid as this maſſacre ſeems, it carried the air of juſtice: the claſſic reader will obſerve, that ſuch enormities were not peculiar to Greece; the clement Cæſar practiced a ſimilar but more atrocious cruelty on the capture of Uxellodunum, when (as himſelf tells us) he cut off the right-hand of every Gaul who had been guilty of the love of liberty and his country.

Cæſar. B. G. L. 8. C. 44.

THIS laſt overthrow was deciſive, and cloſed the long conteſt of twenty-eight years and ſix months, during which Juſtin emphatically obſerves, that the Athenians ſeem, *plus fortunæ varietate debellati, quàm vi victi.*

Juſtin. L. 5. C. 1.

ATHENS was now beſieged by the forces of Lyſander, and prepared for ſubmiſſion: the Lacedæmonian General purpoſely ſpun out the negotiation reſpecting the terms of capitulation, till famine and conſequent diſtreſs within the town became ſo great, that the people finally opened their gates on ſuch terms as ſeemed equivalent to a ſurrender at diſcretion: the ſhipping [134] was to be given up or deſtroyed; the treaſury to be at the diſpoſal of the conquerors; the walls of this noble city to be levelled with the ground; and laſtly, its commonwealth to be ſubverted, and the oligarchy impoſed, that oligarchy which the Athenians ſo deteſted, and had ſpent ſo much blood and treaſure to overturn in every other town of Greece! Sparta detached a guard to protect the new governors, who moreover bribed to their intereſt three thouſand of the refuſe of the people, the more ſecurely to ſport with the lives and property of the reſt.

Plut. Vit. Lyſand. Diod. Sic. L. 13. Xen. Hiſt. 2.

UNDER

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UNDER the tyranny of thirty of the moſt rapacious and mercileſs men, that ancient or modern annals have deigned to name, we now behold this once free and flouriſhing people! It were eaſy in fancy to give a lively colouring to a picture of deſpotic oppreſſion;—let the reader's imagination take up the pencil; unleſs he be of opinion, that the poliſh and lenity of the modern age have rendered ſuch ſubject unneceſſary and unintereſting.

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OF PHILOSOPHY.—OF SOCRATES.

HOWEVER inſtructive may be the detail of events that lead to the oppreſſion of a free people, and ſubverſion of their once flouriſhing and happy ſtate, a general account of their miſeries under the tyranny they are thus ſubjected to, can form no leſſon either to enlighten the mind, or to improve the heart;—though particular inſtances may engage the feelings, and perhaps ſome inſtances inculcate no uſeleſs doctrine, whilſt a good man ſtruggling with diſtreſs, termed "a ſight moſt acceptable "before God," is ſhewn to have been "moſt excellent in peace "of mind, as well as in eſtimation before men."—I have therefore avoided a general account of the deſpotic exertions in emulative barbarity practiſed by the tyrants of Athens; and I will therefore introduce a particular inſtance of that barbarity exerted againſt "one moſt wiſe and good."—Are the epithets any ways ſeparable?—alas modern practice, if not modern doctrine ſo aſſert:—But is goodneſs no part of wiſdom, that whilſt we ſeek to be wiſer, we neglect to be better?—Is it well that the ſtudy of virtue is proſcribed the ſchools of philoſophy; and philoſophy reſtricted to the experimenter of phyſics, to the viſionary ſyſtematic, or to the idle hoarder of ſhells and prodigies?—were it not right whilſt we inſtruct the intellect, to meliorate the mind; and as we elevate the human underſtanding, and fit it for ſerious and deep diſquiſition, would it not be uſeful to direct the ſpirit of reſearch to objects that belong to ſocial humanity, to the love of the neighbour, the reſpect of law, and the adoration of God?—to teach the man the duties of each relative ſituation, and make him know more, but to the purpoſe of his more duly fulfilling

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the end of his being here on earth!—Is the academic diſcourſe of no uſe but to give food to vanity,—to afford the diſciple means of becoming arrogant in learning, and from the very perfection of his accompliſhments, ſecluded from that philanthropy humanity preſcribes, too proud for that deference ſociety demands, and diſqualified for that humility his religion inculcates?

As the ſpirit of the enquiriſts into nature hath ſoared to the heavens, and left the terreſtrial globe leſs accurately explored; ſo do we give up the ſtudy of ourſelves, for that of the things of the world; and become knowing in what is known with little uſe, and ſurely with much detriment, whilſt the hour hath been lightly paſſed, in which the conſtitution of reaſon and paſſion ſhould have been given its proper habits; and the mind have been, when enlarged, at the ſame time formed to a moral fitneſs, under every caſualty of ſeaſon and circumſtance.

Are we not aſhamed, when poſſeſſed of the aggregate experience of ſo many ages, to be leſs happy in ourſelves, and leſs beneficial to our fellow-creatures, than many of leſs enlightened times?—are we not doubly aſhamed, when with the advantages of a ſuperiour moral, and of more authentic rules of conduct, we demean ourſelves with leſs virtue here, and leſs fortitude on our paſſage to hereafter,—leſs virtue in life, and leſs fortitude in death? for who of this degenerate age hath lived, or ſhall die as Socrates! [135].

The ſages of the higher antiquity had been attentive to nature, and ſome had been viſionary, and ſome ſubtle; ſome had been inquiſitive, and diſcovered ſomething, and all had been arrogant, and boaſted much: they pretended to intuition in the firſt inſtance, reaſoning in the ſecond: they ſtated an aſſertion, preſumed an hypotheſis, argued thereon a ſyſtem, then delivered a

moral apothegm, and were ſanctified to poſterity:—but it was not extravagance of fancy, or hardihood of enquiry, or quaintneſs of poſition that ſeemed laudable in the judgment of Socrates;—"Wander not," (ſaid he) "into what is foreign to thy be-"ing, but learn to know thyſelf, and to deſerve well of thoſe "with whom you live, and of Him, by whom you were placed "here on earth." Xenoph. mem. Socrat.

The memoirs written by Xenophon are perhaps the moſt valuable and ſterling little work which antiquity hath bequeathed us: it appears to be a tiſſue of notes taken and corrected from actual converſation.—The pointed particularity of the dialogue, the ſentiment, the conſiſtency throughout, all concur to authenticate the relation;—and therein, what a portraiture of Socrates!—we find him not indeed, as in Plato, employed in an inveſtigation of abſtract beauty, or other viſionary ſpeculation, but we behold him attending to the duties of a good man. Even in the Phædon we have not the character of Socrates rendered amiable and captivating;—the manner in which his wife Xantippe is diſmiſſed the priſon, and the churliſh reproof to Cebes on his preſuming to object to a poſition of his maſter, ſhew him in the light of a ſurly cynic, rather than in that of a philanthropiſt, modeſt in his aſſertions, though confident in his hopes. Xenophon hath given us a picture of the gentle and virtuous friend to mankind; he hath ſhewn him not only eſtabliſhing a proper ſenſe of religion and morality, and laying down principles of what is juſt and what is good, and what our duty under each known and each caſual relation; but his little offices of humanity too are particularized, and the narrative authenticated by the very names of thoſe, whoſe diſtreſs was alleviated, or vices eradicated by his leſſons of prudence and virtue: Lamprocles is gently reproved for his want of filial piety, and induced to aſk forgiveneſs of his mother;—Chærecrates is Platon. Phæd. Dial. Xenoph. mem. Socrat.

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prevailed on to cheriſh his brother's virtues, forget his frailties, and bury all unkindneſs in the tender recollection of the paſt joys of fraternal amity;—the good old Eutherus is adviſed and ſupported by him; the rich Crito is perſuaded to take the poor but honeſt Archidemus, and prefer him in his ſervice; and Diodorus is engaged to honour with his friendſhip and ſupport the good, but penurious Hermogenes: vice he chaſtiſes, and folly he derides; he ſatirizes the fop, and he even condeſcends to reclaim the *ſloven* Epigenes: every diſciple comes from the intercourſe a wiſer, or a better man.

Xenoph. Hiſt. l. 2.

THAT *ſuch* a man ſhould be obnoxious to ſuch a government as now ruled in Athens, is no matter of ſurprize: when the fate of the eight admirals was by the ſenate conſigned to the judgement of a furious populace, Socrates was the only ſenator who declared againſt the conceſſion, as a degradation of their order, and as a dereliction of every principle of equity and of their conſtitution. Ever conſiſtent in thought and action, he was now adverſe to the adminiſtration of the thirty, and boldly expoſed their vices, their cruelties, and their peculation; and he inſtilled into the minds of the youth who attended to his documents, a love of virtue, and a deteſtation of the enormities which diſgraced the government: hence aroſe the virulent reſentment of the oligarchy;—whilſt oppreſſion raged in every quarter, *Socrates tamen in medio erat, et lugentes patres conſolabatur, et deſperantes de republicâ hortabatur*,—this was the cauſe, though not the reaſon aſſigned for proſecuting him; yet ſuch was the purity, and general eſtimation too, of his character, that the accuſation required the moſt artful preparation and management. It hath been obſerved that the Athenians were the moſt ſuperſtitious of the Greeks; and to diveſt Socrates of the love of the commonalty, he was charged with impiety, and the ſeduction of others to his heretical opinions, and the rhetorician

Diog. Laert. Vit. Socrat.

Seneca de tranquil. anim.

Pauſan. in Att. & ſupra. C. 15. L. 1.

Lycon

Lycon and others were ſuborned to calumniate his principles: having attacked his reputation of virtue, that of his wiſdom was next the object of depreciation, and Ariſtophanes was hired by Melitus to write his comedy of the clouds in ridicule of his tenets, and mode of argument. The method of reaſoning uſed by Socrates, was of the moſt forcible and yet of the moſt conciliatory kind; for whilſt by a train of queſtions he progreſſively led his ſcholar to a ſelf-conception and acknowledgement of the doctrine he meant to inculcate, he ſo artfully managed his interrogatories, that the truth irreſiſtably came from the mouth of the pupil he was inſtructing; and knowledge was inſtilled whilſt the diſciple had the ſelf-ſatisfaction and pride of having diſcovered, what in fact was ſuggeſted to him: this captivating logic and the purpoſes it was uſed to, were the objects of apprehenſion to his enemies, and were thence given as a ſubject for the ſatyrical muſe of Ariſtophanes. In the "clouds" of that poet, Socrates is made the maſter of perſuaſion to impiety towards the gods of his country, to the diſregard of all law and juſtice, and to undutiful behaviour from the child to the parent; and his language is repreſented as conſiſting of the meaneſt quibble and ſophiſtry: the clouds in this comedy are ſuppoſed to be the divinities of Socrates, and he is introduced ſuſpended in a baſket, and in converſation with one Strepſiades ruined by vice and debt, who is become his ſcholar, in order to learn how to puzzle his creditors and evade juſtice; Strepſiades utters the coarſeſt jeſts on the leſſons he receives; and Phidippides his ſon, to prove his proficiency in the philoſopher's ſchool, in the fifth act beats his father, who then renounces his tutor and ſets fire to the houſe;—Socrates and Chærephon his follower bawl out in diſtreſs, and Strepſiades cloſes the play with the following lines, as being meant to be particularly impreſſed on the minds of the Attic audience:

Ælian. var. Hiſt. L. 2. C. 13.

Xenoph. vide mem. ſparſim. & Platon. Phæd. Dial. &c.

Ariſtoph. com. Nubes.

—Why

CHAP. IV.

—— Why learn injuriouſly t' addreſs the gods [136],
And yet behold the moon's bright ſeat above!—
Follow—ſtrike home—for many charges brought,—
But moſt for this—" that he's blaſphem'd the gods."

Diog. Laert. Vit. Socrat. Iſocrat. Encom. Buſiridis.

Such were the arts uſed to depreciate him, whom the oracle had announced to be the wiſeſt of men! yet after all, it was found neceſſary to employ the firſt, and moſt able orators to plead againſt him; and the ſophiſt Polycrates was engaged by Anytus. Socrates refuſed to plead in defence,—but what defence could avail, when virtue was the crime! Poſterity hath done juſtice to the innocence which ſupported him in the hour of death.—When the accuſation of Melitus was impending over Socrates, and yet he prepared not any written or ſtudied refutation: " Wherefore
Xen. Mem. Socrat. " (ſaid Hermogenes) do you trifle away the precious hour in " deſultory diſcourſe, and not think of ſome anſwer to the ar- " gument of your accuſer, or ſome plea to the favour of your " judges?" " That anſwer (replied Socrates) hath been the " buſineſs of my whole life, of a long life, throughout ſtrictly " conformable to truth and juſtice:"—to this idea he firmly adhered, confided in his virtue, and ſubmitted to the event with a reſignation, which could ariſe from nought, but a ſound faith in the being and goodneſs of a great and ever *ſuper-intendant* God!

Platon. Dial. Crito. Ejuſd. Dial. Phædon.

THOUGH the dialogue with Crito [137] probably never paſſed, yet the offer of Crito to aſſiſt Socrates in eſcape from priſon, was probably made; though the long detail of Phædon to Echecrates, can ſcarcely be preſumed authentic as to the argumentative part, for, nor was Plato preſent, nor could even Plato, if preſent, have claſſed and related at ſecond-hand ſo prolix and ſubtle a courſe of reaſoning; yet is the dialogue, independent of its very important ſubject of diſquiſition, in many parts curious from

from the anecdotes interſperſed, and through the notoriety of which, Plato thought to give a genuine ſtamp to the philoſophical parts of the treatiſe: among theſe may be remarked, "the obſervation of Socrates with reſpect to pleaſure and pain, "when his fetters were knocked off;" "his verſification of the "fable of Æſop," "the ſacrifice to Æſculapius," and many other circumſtances; among which ought not to be forgotten, the complacent ſmile and bleſſing beſtowed on his executioner, whoſe lowering eye could not refrain a tear, when he held forth the deadly cup to ſo good and wiſe a man.

"To me (exclaims Xenophon) his death itſelf ſeems a de- Xen. Apolog. Socrat.
"monſtration of how much he was beloved of the gods, who "cut off the few remaining burthenſome hours of life, and on "the eve of decrepitude granted him the eaſieſt of deaths!"— "Such was the wiſdom, and ſuch the magnanimity of this man, "that I ever muſt remember, and remembering, ever regret and "reſpect him; and if in future times, any who are friends to "virtue and to the virtuous, ſhall boaſt acquaintance with a "better, and with a more *uſeful* member of ſociety, than was "Socrates;—I heſitate not to pronounce that man,—the firſt "and moſt bleſt of mortals."

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE TEN THOUSAND—PARALLEL OF THE COMMENTARIES OF XENOPHON AND OF CÆSAR.

HAVING arrived at that period of hiſtory of which the Anabyſis of Xenophon forms ſo intereſting an epiſode, I am induced to digreſs ſomewhat on that ſubject, if digreſſion it can be called, to follow the Greeks [138] to Perſia, and to mark their conduct and courage in that country, whence in former times, invaſion came upon them in ſo ſtupendous and formidable a ſhape;—to think of the glorious reſiſtance made to ſo tremendous an attack by ſo ſmall a number, and then to conſider the fortitude and perſeverance of as ſmall a number of the ſame country, and exerted with ſucceſs in the very center of that empire which had been the original aggreſſor.

WHEN a Spartan army is led forth by a veteran king, fluſhed with conqueſt, and actuated by reſentment, it may be conceived, that ſucceſs will attend the enterprize, even when directed againſt the moſt numerous tribes of the populous, but enervate Perſia: I can read of, and yet not wonder at, the victories of Ageſilaus.

Xen. Encom. Ageſilai.

Iſocrat. Paneg.

BUT that a number of men, collected from diſtant parts, driven by misfortune or crime from their paternal hearth, much alienated from patriot ſentiments, and long diſuſed to their national virtues, ſhould under the predicament of caſual connection, recall to mind the ſocial ſpirit and unanimity, which diſtinguiſhed their once-loved homes, and form a brotherhood in their diſtreſs, faithful in its internal conſtitution, and brave and united in

in its exterior efforts; that all ſhould ſo ſuddenly loſe ſight of mercenary views and of foreign habits; and in a moment recover the ſpirit of old Greece, and aſſume the deportment of its independent ſoldiery of yore; all this ſurely proves, how deeply was rooted, and of how pure a nature was the germ of martial virtue foſtered by republican principles and practice, which no ſeaſon could corrupt, no difficulties appall, and no time obliviate.

CYRUS rebelling againſt his brother Artaxerxes, muſtered his army at Sardis, and collecting together the Greeks thereof, gave the command to Clearchus the Spartan: in mere ſportive evolution this body of men (ſays Xenophon) diſplayed a firmneſs and impetuoſity that terrified the ſpectators, and even army to which they were auxiliary; thence Cyrus entertained a happy preſage of ſucceſs, and from that moment ſhowed the utmoſt deference to every ſoldier of fortune, who could plead the merits of Grecian birth: this favourite band was during the whole tedious march from the coaſts of the Ægean to Aſſyria, enticed, flattered, promiſed; its wantonneſs, its wildeſt pretenſions heard, and its moſt extravagant demands acquieſced in; even when traverſing the vaſt and deſolate plains of Aſia, its proviſion was well ſupplied and of good quality; and the famiſhed Perſian eyed the Greek ſoldier vigorous from plenty, and even ruddy with exceſs: theſe circumſtances ſhould be remembered when we come to view them forſaken by proſperity, and yet retaining the elation of ſpirit, the pride of worth, the contempt of arrogant authority, and all the haughtineſs eaſe and power could give, and preſerving theſe qualities of the happy when oppreſſed by the leaden hand of adverſe fortune.

Cteſiæ. Excerpt. H. Steph. Xenophont. Anabaſ. uſq. ad finem.

THE hoſtile brothers, Cyrus and Artaxerxes, at length met to enter into deciſive conflict for the crown: the Greeks performed

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formed the part aſſigned to them with conduct and courage; they charged with a diſcipline and fury which nothing could reſiſt, they broke through ſucceſſive bodies of the Aſiatics, and inſtilling on every ſide a panic at their approach, were victors on the firſt onſet, with only one man wounded by a random arrow; nor through the whole day of battle did they ſuffer any reverſe of fortune, but retired from the field without any loſs of conſequence, to damp the joys of conqueſt with one tear of regret. The oppoſite army conſiſting of twelve hundred thouſand combatants, covered a vaſt extent of ground, and victory on the right implied no certitude of the general fortune of the day; the Greeks remained under arms the whole night without refreſhment, and anxious for the fate of Cyrus;—on the next morning arrived an account of his death, and of the rout and overthrow of all his forces, excepting their own ſingly unbroken band: without heſitation the Greeks then ſent to the Satrap Ariæus, who was lieutenant to Cyrus, and who had rallied the fugitives, and recovered ſome remnant of his army, and they offered to ſupport any claim he might make to the Perſian diadem; but Ariæus deemed it madneſs to think of dethroning an hereditary king at the head of more than a million of ſoldiers animated with conqueſt.

ARTAXERXES ſent to them to deliver up their arms:—"We "want them (ſaid Clearchus) whether as friends, or as enemies, "whether to ſerve him, or to defend ourſelves:" They afterwards replied in a haughtier ſtrain, and refuſed even to treat, unleſs previouſly ſupplied with proviſions, and every other neceſſary. The mighty Perſian army feared the neceſſity of coping with the deſperation of theſe few brave men; the refreſhment was granted; it was deemed adviſeable to ſubſtitute treachery for force, and to circumvent, and not combat with them: nearly were they victims to this mean policy of the Perſian, Clearchus and

and their ſeveral other captains being on ſome amicable pretext, allured to the tent of Tiſſaphernes, and there perfidiouſly put to the ſword.

It was now that the virtue and perſeverance of the Greeks were put to a hardy trial. Thoſe were ſlain whom habit had taught them to liſten to and obey; there were none, whoſe long pre-eminence in council or in action might warrant attention in thoſe around; Xenophon himſelf was little known among the troops: —"I have heard (ſaid Cheriſophus) that one Xenophon "an Athenian was with the army, but to the hour of this neceſ- "ſitous debate, I knew not of his particular fortitude and wiſ- "dom." The tale of the maſſacre was unfolded; the warmth of reſentment fluſhed each private ſoldier, and with unanimity all breathed the voice of defiance to the cruel and inſidious Perſian. The loſt captains were immediately replaced with thoſe the moſt experienced, and confided in by the troops; and the firmneſs of ſpirit, and national attachment of the ſoldiery was ſo great, that diſtreſſed and endangered as was this little army of ten thouſand men, but three hundred Thracians under Miltocythes, and twenty others under one Nicarchus, were found baſe enough to deſert their fellow-ſufferers, and go over to Artaxerxes.

In all times of public difficulty and peril, virtue ability and courage will take the lead, and in ſome degree ſuperſede all other authorities of political uſage or convention; the influence of Xenophon was founded merely in ſuch pretenſions and circum- ſtances; his advice was liſtened to with deference, his conduct regarded with confidence, his example followed with emulation. It was not Xenophon, it was Cleanor, who was veſted with the title at leaſt of ſuperior command: Cleanor ſummoned a general council, and the reſult of the debate was a determination to force a retreat towards their native country; nor was it in ignorance

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of its difficulties that they reſolved on this expedition; to induce them to a ſurrender at diſcretion, the rapid rivers, and the mountains and deſerts they were to paſs, the exceſſes of climate and famine they were to bear up againſt, and ferocious nations they were every where, and conſtantly to cope with, repeatedly had been urged to them; and the account blackened with every horror the extravagance of Eaſtern eloquence could beſtow.

SCARCELY had the Greeks ſtruck their tents, when a large detachment under Tiſſaphernes appeared hovering on their rear: when they began to march, the Perſian horſe infeſted them on all ſides, they were galled with their darts and javelins, and being without cavalry, ſtood in paſſive torment, the ſport of an enemy wantonly brave in the ſecurity of his ſpeed: to repel theſe incurſions they gave up their baggage, mounted a choice number of ſoldiers on the horſes, and the next onſet ſallying impetuouſly from within the hollow ſquare, they chaced back the Perſian cavalry with confuſion from the field. The Perſians truly kept them in conſtant watchfulneſs, harraſſed them with ſlings and darts, cut off their provender, and intercepted their road; but it was an enemy they had been ſo uſed to conquer, that each ſoldier was invincible in the confidence built on paſt experiment: but nature threatened their reſolution with a ſeverer trial; they ſaw the Tigris pouring a vaſt and rapid torrent intercepting their journey to the weſt; and northward, whither the only remaining path conducted, appeared the towering mountains of the Carduchi, a bold and untamed nation, ſavage in its courage, and of a ſtrength and agility ſuited to the rugged country it was to defend: Seven whole days were the Greeks in their paſſage through this inhoſpitable diſtrict, ſtruggling with every obſtacle, which, from the face of the country aud belligerant diſpoſition of its inhabitants, might juſtly be apprehended: rocks were rolled inceſſantly down the precipices, and arrows were ſhot from each covert, of ſuch length

length and firmneſs as to ſerve the Greeks inſtead of javelins, and they were ſent from the bow with a force that broke the ſtrongeſt ſhield:—ſuch was the foe they were to combat with, to diſlodge from heights, to break through in paſſes, and every where to fight at odds. CHAP. V.

DESCENDING from theſe mountains, at the foot flowed the river Centrites, on the oppoſite bank was a mighty army, and with it a body of the *warlike* Chaldæi under the Satrap Orontes, and ſtill on their rear poured the arrows of the Carduchi: but the rich plains of Armenia courted the ſoldier's eye; he was told that the paſſing of this ſtream was his laſt and only difficulty, and that he was to revel in the delightful fields before him, and repay himſelf for every paſt trouble with unreſiſted pillage of the effeminate poſſeſſors. Enured to danger, and enflamed with hope, the Greeks paſſed a rapid and dangerous ſtream in the face of a numerous enemy, and followed by another, whoſe ſavage force and intrepidity were a match for ſuperior numbers, or for any thing,—ſave the habitual cool valour of diſcipline, and high ſpirit of national honour, which made this ſmall body of Greeks ſo boldly undertake, and ſo ſucceſsfully purſue their ſtupendous deſign. Having repelled the mountaineers, having croſſed the river, having routed the adverſe army, having reached the fountain of the Tygris, other and new dangers, awaited them;—Teribazus entered into treaty with, merely to betray them; but they diſcovered the treacherous deſign previous to the ambuſcade, and revenged themſelves with a bloody animoſity the perfidy might warrant.

NOR bold, nor inſidious hoſtility, nor the natural difficulties accruing from a deſert or broken country, had apalled the Greek valour and perſeverance; but from the heavens a fiercer foe came on, and to whom nearly they had yielded; winter, with all the ſeverities incident to the ſeaſon in a vaſt continental

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nental tract, threatened them with cold and famine; continued ſnows obſtructed their march; the conſtant white glare deprived many of their ſight; during the night their bodies were covered with ſleaks, iſicles hung from their very fleſh, their ſandals were frozen to their feet, and their toes and fingers mortified; many loſt the uſe of their limbs, ſome had their very ſenſes buried in a general numbneſs and torpidity, and were only by force of torment brought back to life; many too died; dearth and cold kept pace together, there was no refreſhment to elate the ſpirits, and fortify the blood againſt the bite of the froſt:—deſpondency caſt a gloom around, and melancholy revibrated from face to face, and from mind to mind till all was horror and deſpair!—a body of the enemy at this moment approached, "If "we are to die (ſaid Xenophon) let us die ſword in hand!" Few could be perſuaded to follow him; thoſe few, however, were victorious, and animated with ſucceſs, returned to rouſe and encourage their deſpairing brethren; they exhorted, or compelled them to march, and fortunately ſoon arriving at ſome rich villages, the army was preſerved: the troops being refreſhed, with their ſtrength recovered their wonted fortitude; the ſmall towns to which they were indebted for a few days plentiful ſupport, not being of extent to ſuſtain them for a longer period, they were neceſſitated to proceed. Other rivers, other ſandy plains, other mountainous paſſes remained, and other barbarous warriors to defend them: the Chalybes, the Taochi, the Phaſiani were ſucceſſively routed, and the whole country, as it were, *fought through* with unremitting bravery, till about nine thouſand of thirteen thouſand Greeks who enliſted under Cyrus, arrived on the ſummit of mount Theches, whence diſcovering the Euxine ſea, they rended the air with acclamations of joy! Here they pauſed to raiſe trophies, to ſacrifice to their gods, to recapitulate their paſt troubles, bleſs the divine favour, and ſomewhat too exult in the courage and conduct, which had extricated

tricated them from each difficulty. If ever the ſun ſhone on any multitude happy without alloy, it was when its ray gilded the armour of theſe Greeks, contending in the ring, the race, and other ſportive games, rejoicing in the unwonted celebration, and reminding each other of the appendant uſages in their native Greece, and what was ſhewy, and what neceſſary, and what might be omitted, and what was forgotten; whilſt the view of the ſea gladdened each eye that caſually turned from the ſports, and the anticipation of an eaſy, and no longer toilſome paſſage homeward warranted their mirth, and enhanced the felicity of the ſcene.

HERE the retreat may not improperly be cloſed, for here its particular hardſhips were at an end: other dangers and difficulties hereafter indeed attended them, but moſtly they were the conſequences of their own ill-conduct: inſtead of Greeks awakened to fraternal ſentiments by the rude call of adverſity, we are to behold men ſecure and inſolent from ſucceſs: proſperity quickly tranſmuted the patriot-ſoldier into the mutinous mercenary:—they divided, they rejoined, they ſeparated in ſearch of pillage, and whole detachments were cut off;—they depoſed, ordained, and again depoſed their leaders; they entered into alliance with the Moſynæci, and into ſervice with Seuthes.

PRIVATE worth may be tutored into excellence by a leſſon of miſery and hardſhips, but it too hath other reſting place in the natural diſpoſition, and in reaſon, and in habit: *public* virtue is the child of, and exiſts but in, adverſity; *the flock croud together beneath the ſtorm; and when the day brightens, —ſeparate, and quarrel for a weed!*

QUINCTILIAN [139] hath lightly ſketched a compariſon between the Greek and Roman hiſtorians: he mentions Herodotus and

Quinctil. L. 10. C. 1.

CHAP. V.

and Livy as having equal pretenſions; but ſurely the tales in the firſt book of Herodotus are not of a merit, to conteſt the prize of hiſtory with thoſe books of Livy which afforded a text for the famous comment of Machiavel; nor do I think that the Greeks account of the Perſian wars, is equal to the famous decad of the punic invaſion: Polybius would in my opinion afford a more appoſite parallel; his having written on Roman ſubjects no ways vitiates the propriety of comparing them, and in doing ſo, thoſe who are not led away by the quaint phraſe of '*Lactea ubertas*' applied to Livy, will admit his pretenſions to energy as well as eloquence: their ſtile is undoubtedly different, and in this the Latin hath the better of the compariſon; in other reſpects to uſe a phraſe of Quinctilian, they are '*pares* '*magis quam ſimiles*.' Quinctilian *doubts not* to oppoſe the merits of Salluſt, to thoſe of Thucydides; on this head I have my doubts; independent of his emphatic ſtile and air of accuracy throughout, the introductory book of Thucydides is a maſterpiece of recapitulation, and may be placed in parallel with the firſt book of Machiavel's Hiſtory of Florence, the beſt epitome (I think) of the kind; but the preambles of Salluſt though eloquent and ingenious, are ſomewhat forced and inapplicable. The hiſtories of Xenophon I read with pleaſure, but cannot admit them to vie with the above authors, either of his own country or the Romans: I am rather inclined to allow to the latter the general palm of hiſtory. What doubts I may have, the annals and hiſtories, and particularly the detached pieces of Tacitus are calculated to remove;—if language and ſentiment ſuitable to each action, and conciſely explanatory of motive and event, if in the words of Salluſt, '*factis dicta exæquanda*,' conſtitute the merit in this branch of literature, who is the writer, that hath given policy, facts, and character more force, and in fewer, and in better words, than Tacitus? to a proper and able reader, Tacitus explains, whilſt he appears ſimply

Bell. Catalin. Salluſt.

to

to relate a myſtery; and developes the receſſes of policy and character, whilſt he profeſſes to recite merely effects and conduct. CHAP. V.

THE military memoirs of Cæſar and of Xenophon may be conſidered as a diſtinct and new branch of literature, and may afford freſh ſubject for conteſt and criticiſm: the pretenſions of the Roman and Greek are reſpectively ſtrong, and their different merits may afford ſcope to the advocate of either language or writer.

I MEAN not to enter into a minute enquiry, but rather as a key to ſuch diſquiſition, obſerve, that in the Latin work, we have the commentaries of a General, veſted with a legitimate command; in the Greek, the journal of an officer in ſubordinate authority though of high eſtimation: the ſpeeches of the one, are replete with imperatorial dignity; of the other, delivered with the conciliatory arts of argument and condeſcenſion: the oratory put into the mouth of others, is by either author happily introduced, and ſuited to party and to circumſtance; with exception, however, to a ſpeech of Cyrus in the memoirs of Xenophon, who, though in queſt of the deſpotic crown of Perſia, is made to harangue for Greece and liberty. Accounts of the face of the country, of the characters of the inhabitants, and even of very families, were collected and tranſmitted to the great leader in chief; and thence from Cæſar we have a curious and well authenticated detail relative to the Gauls, the Britons, and every other enemy: Xenophon is ſuperficial with reſpect to any peculiarities of the nations he paſſed through, his mind was abſorbed in the care of thoſe under his command; but thence we are better acquainted with the Greek army, than with that of Cæſar's: Cæſar's attention was ever directed to thoſe he was to attack, to counteract, or to oppoſe; Xenophon's, to thoſe he was to conduct: Cæſar is often circumſtantial, but

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never diffuſe; Xenophon, were he leſs eloquent, I ſhould call prolix, without being particular. Cæſar gives the characters of men in a diſplay of their actions and of their ſpeeches; it became not the dignity of the great Roman General to minutely diſcriminate the private merits and demerits of an individual;—but Xenophon might properly deſcant thereon, with the nice obſervation of a by-ſtander, following the bent of philoſophic enquiry: the character of Cyrus was indeed worthy the pen of Cæſar, but a detail of the virtues of Proxenus and vices of Menon, were a more proper ſubject for the more private writer: in his portraiture of theſe men, and of that of Clearchus, Xenophon hath diſplayed the moſt nervous and pointed eloquence; the energy of which is a fine contraſt to the eaſy rhetoric of the ſpeeches, and elegant ſimplicity of diction in the narrative, which ſo ſingularly characteriſe theſe moſt beautiful memoirs. It may be obſerved, that Xenophon hath in this work artfully interſperſed every circumſtance which might conduce to the giving a favourable idea of his own character;—one Phalinus is introduced, deriding him for his virtue and philoſophy; his happy temper and moderation are hinted at in the obſervation, "that "he never had a diſpute with any other captain but once, and "that a trivial one, with Cheriſophus;" the general idea of his bravery, his religion, and his eloquence, is ſtrongly marked throughout; every ſpeech himſelf makes (if I rightly remember) is evincive and effectual: the *certain Athenian called Xenophon*, is thus in ſucceſſion veſted with every accompliſhment, and through the well-wrought veil of modeſt phraſe, is at length diſcoverable the arrogance of a brave and virtuous, but vain man.

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RESTORATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH—AND OF ITS DOMINION—OF ITS CORRUPTION ENSUING THIS SUCCESS.

IN diſcourſing of the prior times of the republic, I cautiouſly refrained from *the ſtories in hiſtory*, and rejected the apothegms and anecdotes of diſtinguiſhed individuals, as ill-ſuited to the purpoſe of this work; nay, I teſtified my diſapprobation of the writer who ſhould degrade a community by a ſelected inſtance, and drawing the attention of his reader from the characteriſtics of a great nation to the character of a great man, ſeem to bid him remark tranſcendant virtue as an exception, and not a rule: the ſpirit of thoſe times warranted the remark;—the whole people of Athens, during the Perſian wars, ſeemed ſo united in their purſuit of what was good, and what was great, that to praiſe one, ſeemed injuſtice to all; but this galaxy of bright and excellent qualities, wherein to diſtinguiſh and fix on, any one more bright and more excellent than the reſt, was ſo difficult for the eye, gradually loſt its indiſcriminate luſtre, and became a conſtellation of leſſer and of greater ſtars, which in proportion to the dimneſs of the whole, have ſhone out conſpicuous to the view, and have attracted our attention to their ſuperior brilliancy and magnitude; thus my regard hath of late unwarily been drawn from a conſideration of the whole to its more particular and luminous ſpots: looking back on my comment, I find it from time to time, attending more and more to individual names and to characters; the further I proceed, the more I foreſee I ſhall thus deviate from the principle I at firſt

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laid down; but this deviation, originates it not in the progreſſive, and inevitably [140] changeable courſe of my ſubject?

Xen. Hiſt. 2.

We left Athens to rue its paſt crimes and follies under the tyranny of the oligarchy: cruelty and oppreſſion had ſoon proſcribed or driven into exile the beſt of the citizens; and ſcattered through the neighbouring ſtates, they were idly bewailing the loſs of their country: "In theſe [141] times," ſays Nepos (and I think he might have ſaid it of all times) "good men were more "inclinable to harangue, than to fight for liberty."—Such converſation is not, however, without its conſequence; the mind is thereby moved from its paſſive ſtate, and may thenceforward be more eaſily directed to a particular action, if there is any one to urge and lead it on.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Thraſyb.

Ibid. Juſtin. L. 5. C. 9. Xen. Hiſt. 2.

Thrasybulus, a captain of ſome renown in the latter period of the Peloponneſian war, was among thoſe who had taken refuge in Thebes; for Thebes, and every other ſtate of importance, was willing to receive and cheriſh the Athenian fugitives: the extirpation of a people who had ſo long balanced the empire of Greece, ſeemed a prelude to the uncontroulable dominion of the oppoſite party; the apprehenſion of any further encroachments of Sparta ſecured a favourable reception to thoſe, who alone had ſeemed equal to oppoſing her pretenſions;—thus others beſides its baniſhed citizens, wiſhed, and ſome were ready to abet the reſtoration of the republic, and once again ſet it up in hoſtile rivalſhip to the Peloponneſe.

Ibid.

The temper of men was in that ſtate, that nothing but a firſt mover ſeemed wanting: Thraſybulus had the dexterity to engage, and courage to lead forth, ſeventy [142] followers on a ſudden and deſperate expedition; and the firſt wheel being thus touched, the whole machine was quickly in motion: this ſmall party iſſuing

iſſuing out in the depth of winter, ſurprized the fortreſs of Phylé in the vicinity of Athens, from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, not ſtrictly guarded or attended to; the fame of ſucceſs encreaſed their number;—they marched on to the Pyræus, then ſeized and entrenched themſelves on the cove of the Munychia; whence ſallying, they met and defeated the mercenary forces of the oligarchy, ſlew two of their chiefs, and cloſely laid ſiege to the remainder, who had retired within the citadel. Though there might be ſome hyperbole in the allegation of Cleocritus, "that "the oligarchy had put to death more Athenians in the eight "months of its power, than the Peloponneſians had done in the "ten laſt years of war;" yet many of theſe deſpots, and many of the three thouſand they had hired and involved in their crimes, felt too conſcious of the juſt reſentments they had incurred, and too apprehenſive of a vindictive retaliation to admit a thought of compromiſe, and they prepared for the moſt deſperate reſiſtance: others, leſs guilty, ſought to avoid complicating their ſituation with that of thoſe moſt amenable to the juſtice of their fellow-citizens, and they had their ſeparate meetings and reſolutions: the very diviſion alarmed the thirty, and fearful of the reſult of ſecret debates, and apprehenſive of being given up to the rage of thoſe whom they had plundered and exiled, they privately withdrew to Eleuſiné. The heads of the faction remaining within the citadel, then conſtituted a military government of ten, and by the ſhew and poſture of defence ſought to attain terms, or in default thereof, to hold out till ſuch time as aſſiſtance might come from Lacedæmon; and ſhortly Lyſander came with an army of mercenaries, with intent to diſlodge Thraſybulus from the Munychia, and to replace the inſtruments of oppreſſion, in a firmer and more deſpotic ſovereignty. Pauſanias, the king of Sparta [143], envied the renown and feared the growing authority of Lyſander, and going forth, as he pretended, to reinforce and aſſiſt the prior detachment, he took the lead in the expedition, and from deſire of counteracting

Xen. Hiſt. 2.

Plut. Vit. Lyſandri. Pauſan. in Lacon. Juſtin. L. 5. C. 10.

Xen. Hiſt. 2.

CHAP. VI.

and vexing his rival, withheld the ſword, treated with the exiles, and permitted a reſtoration of the commonwealth: nor did the Ephori heſitate to ratify the conditions; Lyſander was become too great a ſubject in the limited monarchy (or duarchy) of Sparta, and the envy of its king was abetted by the ſober apprehenſions of theſe guardians of the conſtitution of ſtate, who preferred the occaſion of abaſing the pride and power of an ambitious citizen, to that of reinſtating a delegated ſovereignty in a city ſo depopulated, ſo impoveriſhed, and ſo defenceleſs as was Athens: it was deemed ſufficient for the honour of Sparta to preſcribe terms by which thoſe who were moſt obnoxious, ſhould be permitted to retire to Eleuſiné, and that a general act of amneſty ſhould preclude future proſecutions, and reconcile the remainder of the citizens. The commonwealth was thus reſtored, the old laws and the old magiſtracies were revived, and the procedure ſanctified in the temple of Minerva by the plight of mutual faith, and a ſolemn adjuration to the ancient conſtitution of the government; unleſs ſome little alteration may be preſumed, from what Iſocrates mentions of the effect of the late deſpotic cruelties on the renovation of the republic: ſays he, "from an abhor-"rence [144] of tyranny, we ran into a greater extreme of de-"mocracy."

Iſocrat. orat. de pace.

The republic was now, like a convaleſcent, purged indeed of many groſs and noxious humours, but as yet of a weak and tremulous frame; adverſity, that beſt preceptor had beſtowed no unprofitable leſſon; penury had broken the habits of diſſipation, and dangers and the heavy hand of oppreſſion, had enured the courage and humbled the arrogance of the citizens: they ſet out anew without partialities for any demagogue to lead them aſtray, and without wealth to corrupt them; but then their former empire was mutilated, or rather gone; their walls, their very ſhipping were deſtroyed, and they had nought to truſt to, for their elevation, but the never failing and energetic

ſpirit of their government;—*the Genius of the democracy!* This however could not be the work of a moment: the firſt we hear of the Athenians, after the expulſion of the oligarchy, is that they received and obeyed an order from Sparta to reinforce Thimbro with three hundred horſe in his expedition to Ionia, and afterwards that they followed, an humble and dependant ally to the Elean [145] war.

Plut. Vit. Ageſilai. Diodor. Sic. L. 14. Xen. Hiſt. 3.

LEOTYCHIDES the ſon of the queen Timæa was ſuſpected to be the fruit of her intimacy with Alcibiades, and with the help of a few oracles newly vamped up and well explained, was illegitimated in favour of his uncle Ageſilaus; who conſcious of the doubtful right by which he held the crown, ſought by an animated conduct to draw the attention of men from his title to his merits, and make not *why*, but *how* he wielded the ſceptre of Sparta, the ſcope of obſervation: Lyſander had anticipated the crop of laurels from Greece; but Aſia ſeemed to open a freſh and inexhauſtible field of renown; and thither he directed the war. The ſatraps in the maritime governments of Perſia deſirous of diverting the ſtorm, ſent forth emiſſaries to intrigue with every Grecian city of importance, and to incite them to hoſtilities with Sparta: it was a favourable criſis for ſhaking off the dominion of that haughty ſtate; a rupture was pleaded for with all the force of oratory, and that oratory backed with more perſuaſive gold; Thebes and many other ſtates received the advice and money of Perſia with approbation: Athens had at this period re-adopted ſome notions of the patriot-virtues of her anceſtry, and admitted not the miniſter of bribery within her walls; but the opportunity of raiſing herſelf, with all Aſia as it were, to help her, and in her turn to ſet her foot on the neck of thoſe who had treated her ſo harſhly in her moment of diſtreſs, flattered too much her ambitious hopes and ardour for revenge, for her to reſiſt the invitation: an honourable pretext for intermeddling was eaſily found; Thebes had opened her gates to the Athenians in exile, and the Athenians

Xenoph. encom. Ageſilai.

Xen. Hiſt. 3.

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Athenians from gratitude voted an offenſive, and defenſive alliance with Thebes, who was connected offenſively and defenſively with the Perſians.

Polyb. Hiſt. L. 2.

POLYBIUS mentions a fact which proves at once the force and the poverty of the Athenians on this occaſion: their city was again become populous from the return of the exiles, and their commercial habits and ancient experience, quickly became the baſis of a new and riſing navy; thus they furniſhed the Thebans with above ſix thouſand [146] heavy armed troops, and with a conſiderable reinforcement of ſhipping, and yet retained a reſerve of either force ſufficient for home defence: but when at this eve of a rupture with Sparta, a general cenſus or eſtimation of property was inſtituted in order to aſcertain the reſources of ſtate, and the quota of tax to be levied from each individual, the collective property of the Athenians real and perſonal, amounted only to five thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty talents, being a leſs ſum than at the demiſe of Pericles was amaſſed in the treaſury alone. That Attica was untilled, and the farms unſtocked, the city ſtrewed with ruins, the ſlaves emancipated, and the money and plate carried off in pillage, were the obvious conſequences of the long Peloponneſian war; of the ſiege, and of the capture by Lyſander; and of the avarice and oppreſſion of the oligarchy: to theſe very evils perhaps the commonwealth owed its ſudden reſtoration to empire, as well as to freedom; the Athenians too poor and too weak to be feared, were permitted to reeſtabliſh their democracy; and too neceſſitous and too enterprizing to await the recovery of their fortunes by the ſlow ſteps of agriculture and œconomy, they were again, forced as it were, on the ſeas; their old ſucceſs in the traffic of freightage induced them to build ſhips before houſes, and this event of neceſſity, was a ſtep to greatneſs: ſays Procles the Phliaſian in a ſpeech to the Athenian aſſembly [147] "Moſt of ye gain your

Xenoph. περι προσοδων.

" your livelihood from the ſeas, and thus the care of your in-
" dividual ſuſtenance and wealth begets a preparation and ex-
" pertneſs, which fit ye for marine armament and conteſts." At the time Athens entered into alliance with Thebes, ſhe had already an hundred veſſels of war equipped and manned: the confederacy againſt Sparta began to ſpread from the grounds of this compact; all who feared or envied its power were bribed or perſuaded into a conjunction of force, till the ſocial league became of ſo great extent, that Sparta to oppoſe its progreſs, was neceſſitated to recal its troops from Aſia. Ageſilaus with regret obeyed the ſummons; he had done [148] enough to irritate the king of Perſia, and had not done enough to benefit his country;— he had merely made, and left, an enemy; and his expedition had the effect of a miniſtry to conciliate the ſatraps with Athens, rather than that of an armament to humble them to Sparta.

Xen. Hiſt. 6.

Juſtin. L. 6. C. 4.

Xen. encom. Ageſil.

Conon profited of the juncture to connect himſelf with Pharnabazus; he had not ſeen his country ſince the reſtoration of the commonwealth; his behaviour in the laſt ſea fight with Lyſander had rendered his integrity or courage ſuſpected, and under theſe circumſtances he thought proper to delay his return, till a favourable opportunity ſhould occur, of recovering the good opinion of his fellow citizens, and of reviſiting his natal ſpot with advantage and glory: he had ſo far ingratiated himſelf with Pharnabazus, that he entruſted him with the command of the Ionian and other provincial detachments of the Perſian fleet, and even the Phœnician ſquadron was added to his ſtrength by Artaxerxes, who liſtened to the interceſſions in Conon's favour made by his friend Evagoras, then ruling the dynaſty of Cyprus: off the city Cnidus, a city of the Carian Doris, nearly oppoſite to Rhodes, lay the united naval force of the Spartans; Conon came up with, attacked, defeated, deſtroyed, or diſabled the beſt of their ſhipping [149]: Honour once again took poſt by

Corn. Nep. Vit. Conon. Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philipp. Juſtin. L. 6. C. 3. Xenoph. Hiſt. L. 4.

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the Athenian flag, and fame again trumpeted from the prow the ſtories of Mycalé and Salamis.

Xen. Hiſt. 5. Diod. Sic. L. 15. Corn. Nep. Vit. Iphicrat. Ejuſd. Vit. Chabriæ.

ON land too the republic was once more taught to vaunt the proweſs of its ſoldiery, under the generalſhip of Iphicrates: eight and twenty long years of almoſt continued civil war had ſhown that mere Herculean force might be counteracted by dexterity, that in a word there were "*arts of war*;" and this ingenious people ſeem to be the firſt who turned this, as well as every other art, to its proper account: Iphicrates had ſo diſciplined, ſo armed, and ſo enured every ſoldier of his army, that the man who had once ſeen ſervice under his command, was valued thereon, and thereafter received an advanced pay under the title of an Iphicratenſis: Chabrias too was another great maſter of evolution, and every other military ſcience, and once in this war by a ſimple, new, and unexpected manœuvre, put a ſtop to the career of Ageſilaus at the head of the whole Spartan army, elated with victory and in the heat of purſuit.

Xen. Hiſt. 4.

THE Athenians under theſe Generals were daily gaining ground: when in ſmall detachments joined with their allies they had indeed been beaten by Ageſilaus, and by Dercyllidas; but their ſeparate armies under their own ſkilful leaders had every where met with ſucceſs: they had been victorious in the countries of Arcadia, and of the Phliaſii, and had ſurprized and put to the ſword a large body of Spartans at Lychæum. The detail of theſe wars comprizes little matter of importance conſidered in a political view, however the greater outline of action and general reſult are deſerving obſervation:—I ſhall not therefore particularize the enterprizes of each military partizan, and follow the petty armies of each diſtrict in their excurſions and in their retreats. Worn out with the fatigues of inceſſant warfare, the Grecians entered not again with that ſpirit of animoſity

ſity into the field of civil conteſt; nor were the parties on either ſide willing to hazard the conſequences of a deciſive battle, whilſt in the late ſubverſion of the Athenian commonwealth, memory gave a general defeat ſo fatal and tremendous an aſpect: ſkirmiſhes of ſmall detachments, ſchemeful expeditions of active officers, and eloquent harangues of Generals and negociators fill up this page in the hiſtories of Xenophon.

By ſea, Conon, under the auſpices of Perſian patronage, and after him Thraſybulus, conciliated or ſubdued many of the inſular and other appendages of the ancient empire of Athens: ſays Iſocrates [150], "our dominion was re-eſtabliſhed in ten "years, a leſs time than it had coſt united Greece and Perſia to "abaſe and ſubdue us:" this obſervation was in ſome meaſure true; from the date of Conon's victories Xenophon ſays, that "the Athenians ſailed over the ſeas [151] ſecurely as in times of peace;" and it hath before been obſerved, that the iſlands of the Ægean were ſo numerous, and the coaſts of Greece ſo extenſive, in proportion to the face of the country, that a marine power had ever the greater ſhare of controul. The ſovereignty of Athens however was never again extenſive or ſupreme as before; it owed too much of its elevation to Perſia, and ſeemed in future to feel a dependancy that checked its progreſs; and the provinces and iſlands it reſumed the dominion of, felt too that its power was ſcarcely its own, that they might reſiſt it, and that they might find ſupport. In truth, the king of Perſia was the arbitrator of Greece; having ſupplied Conon with money and materials to rebuild the walls of Athens, and repair the Piræus, on the completion thereof even Sparta became intimidated, and ſought his mediation: the imperious edict of the great king ſuperſeded all negotiation as to *terms* of peace, and at once cloſed theſe conteſts; his declaration to the Grecian ambaſſadors clearly manifeſts his ſuperiority, and how well he had profited of the

Xen. Hiſt. 4. Diod. Sic. L. 14. Juſtin. L. 6. C. 5. Iſocrat. Orat. Areopag.

Xen. Hiſt. 5.

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advice and policy of Alcibiades, when Greece was ſo weakened by inteſtine wars, as implicitly to acquieſce in the very letter of the following mandate :—" *Artaxerxes* [152] *the king deems it* " *juſt, that the cities in Aſia be his, and likewiſe that the iſlands* " *of Clazomené and Cyprus do belong to him : for other Grecian* " *ſtates both great and ſmall, that they be ſeverally enfranchiſed and* " *independant, with exception to Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros,* " *which as of old ſhall be ſubject to the Athenians ; and whatever* " *ſtate accepts not theſe terms, I will go to war with it, and its* " *adherents, by ſea and land, with power and with wealth :*" the Thebans, and ſome others, murmured at the emancipation of the cities under their juriſdiction ; to oppoſe however was vain ; and a general peace called that of Antalcidas took place, to which ſeverally were parties, the Perſians, the Spartans, the Athenians and their allies.

Xen. Hiſt. 5.

THE weight of the fierce, and almoſt continued civil broil in Greece, had fallen moſt heavily on Sparta and Athens, and on ſuch petty cities as were not of ſufficient conſequence to be treated with deference and regard by the great maſter republics : another, an intervening rank of ſtates, whoſe adherence was ſufficiently important to exact conſideration, and whoſe ſtrength was ſuch as to enſure ſafe and honourable terms, or from friend or from foe ;—ſuch fattened on the war ; and as the expence of wealth and men gradually weakened and impoveriſhed the contending and principal parties, theſe ſecondary republics ſucceſſively ſtarted up, and each awhile figured on the theatre of hiſtory in ſome chief and leading part.

Xen. Hiſt. 5.

OLYNTHUS in Thrace was among thoſe which had grown ſo heavy of late in the balance of ſovereignty ; all the cities of the vicinity were within its juriſdiction ; and Amyntas complained to Greece that half his Macedonia, and even its capitol Pel-

la,

la [153], had yielded to the forces or intrigues of this encroaching neighbour: a conſiderable army was ſent from Sparta under the conduct of Eudamidas, to equipoize the ſcale of power in thoſe parts; this he effected; but ſcarcely was this new excreſcence lopt, when from the very blow another hydra-head ſhot forth, and breathed defiance, and even menaced deſtruction to the aſſailant! Phæbidas in march to reinforce Eudamidas in Thrace, forewent the immediate views of his deſtination, to take advantage of a commotion in Thebes, and aſſiſt in eſtabliſhing the oligarchic party, and he left a detachment to protect the uſurpation: the enterprize of Pelopidas, who ſurprized and maſſacred the Spartan guard, recovered the citadel, and reſtored the commonwealth, embroiled his country with the lordly conquerors of Athens; unexpectedly it proved equal to the conteſt, and Sparta in her turn was to tremble for her dominion, for her very ſafety, and even exiſtence.

Plut. Vit. Pelopidæ. Corn. Nep. Vit. ejuſd.

The Athenians were made parties in the diſpute by a curious deviſe of the Thebans; they bribed Sphodrias, the Spartan governor of Theſpiæ, to make an hoſtile attempt to burn the arſenal of the Piræeus and ſhips in harbour; his enterprize failed; the Spartan ambaſſadors then in Athens diſavowed the tranſaction, and aſſured the people of redreſs: a ſpecial complaint was forwarded to Sparta, and the Ephori immediately put Sphodrias on his trial; when without evidence in his favour, and without even appearing to the ſummons, Sphodrias was acquitted; "because," ſaid Ageſilaus, "he has otherwiſe been a good citizen, and it is a pity to condemn him:" Athens juſtly irritated by the enterprize of Sphodrias, and further diſguſted by the apparent duplicity of his countrymen, and the mockery of redreſs and juſtice diſplayed on the occaſion, forthwith entered into alliance with Thebes, and joined heartily in the war.

Xen. Hiſt. 5.

Now

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Now once again a fleet was equipped from the Piræus, and was in all parts ſucceſsful; Chabrias beat the enemy from the ſeas, Iphicrates ſubdued Corcyra, and Timotheus recovered Samos, and coaſting the Peloponneſe at various deſcents, deſpoiled its cities, and laid waſte the country.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Timoth. & Chabriæ. Xen. Hiſt. 6.

Ibid.

THE Theban reaping the greater advantages of the war, and throwing more than the proportional weight thereof on the allies, Athens in diſguſt ſoon appeared inclinable to treat; and giving up a conteſt which ſhe had entered into but from a haſty reſentment, recur to a tranquil purſuit of population, of arts, and of the recovery of that commerce, which had once rendered her ſo rich and powerful: Iphicrates was recalled from Acarnania, where he was daily acquiring credit and advantage,—and perhaps a diſcovery of how deeply the Thebans themſelves were engaged in the original plot on the Piræus, accelerated the treaty between Athens and Sparta, who ſpeedily concluded a ſeparate peace.

THEBES left alone to proſecute the war, was for a time diſpirited, till in the field of Leuctra, that great (and more than great) that good citizen Epaminondas, by a ſage and valiant conduct routed and compleatly vanquiſhed the Spartans, with an army leſs numerous [154] than their own: elated with ſo noble a victory over a people uſed to deſpiſe all odds, and aſk, "*not how* "*many, but where their enemy were?*"—crowned with ſo bright a conqueſt, the Theban proclaimed it with exultation throughout Greece; and invited each city to partake in the humiliation of the haughty diſciples of Lycurgus, and join in the abaſement of thoſe who had ſo long and ſo tyrannically played the lord and maſter: Athens gave the herald of ſucceſs but a cool reception; it was matter of debate, not whether Sparta ſhould be attacked, but Thebes oppoſed; the diſmemberment of Sparta and acceſſion of its territories to Thebes, ſo much encreaſing its power, might

Diod. Sic. L. 15. Pauſan. in Att. Juſtin. L. 6. C. 4 Plut. Vit. Epam. Xen. Hiſt. 6.

might ſwell the current already full to its bank till it burſt in inundation over the vicinities, and lay all around under the flood; it ſeemed time to draw off the ſtream, or at leaſt to place a dam to its further encroachment: Athens had already beheld the power of Sparta ſpread over her countries, and over the face of Greece; and not even with the deſtruction of Sparta would ſhe hazard from another quarter ſuch another deſolation of the liberties, of the arts, of the free intercourſe, and of every other bleſſing of ſociety! in a full aſſembly it was concluded neceſſary to obviate the growing power of Thebes; and now when no other city was willing to engage in ſo diſtreſsful an alliance, Athens voluntarily proffered friendſhip and ſuccour to the Lacedæmonians, and Iphicrates accordingly was ſent forth with an army to their aſſiſtance.

Not long after, in the famous battle of Mantinea [155], with the heroe Epaminondas, fell the greatneſs of his newly aſpiring countrymen: the Thebans, by the advice of their dying general forewent the hopes of empire for a well-timed and honourable peace, which generally was come into, and with a particular readineſs by Athens, as the equal power and freedom ſhe fought for, ſeemed virtually ſecured by the very armiſtice. Every great and leading ſtate of Greece had, in its turn, known the viciſſitude from power to humiliation; each had dearly rued a ſhort-lived triumph with the loſs of its treaſure, and of the flower of its citizens; every ſpeech abhorrent of war, was echoed by the groans of the widow or of the orphan; the peace might now therefore be preſumed permanent, whilſt the public ruin and private misfortunes gave every argument for it, its full weight, and a moſt favourable hearing. Peace however, like a feaſt long untaſted, and then gluttoned on to exceſs, brought on groſs corruption [156], and a whole train of diſorders: men, becauſe diſguſted with war, ſeemed to think that their ſervice in war

Xen. Hiſt. 7. Juſtin. L. 6. C. 8. Pauſan. in Bœot. Plut. Vit. Epam.

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was never again to be required; they gave themſelves up to habits that incapacitated them for future exertion; the fund ſet apart to anſwer any unforeſeen exigencies of the public, was voted for public diſſipation; and their late brave and ſucceſsful generals, diſregarded by the people, and carped at by the demagogues, fled from envy and diſgrace, and ſettled in diſtant parts. Little was it conſidered that a warlike mien, and an attentive and firm policy were the beſt ſureties for the continuance of that ſtate of tranquillity ſo much, and ſo ill, enjoyed: the reſt of Greece ſeemed too much enraptured with the ſame indolence, or too much exhauſted, to attend and profit of the weakneſs which ſupineneſs and luxury ſhould produce among others; and it was not pre-conceived that a petty Northern prince might, as he did, break through the obſtacles that oppoſed him, and proceed with a force irreſiſtable to the enervate Greeks, till in fine, he ſhould attain that ſovereignty, which had been ſo long and ſo ſharply conteſted among themſelves. Athens in particular was lulled into the moſt ſupine ſecurity; attack was ſo little thought of, that every proviſion for even defence was diverted into ſome other channel; their army was neglected, their arſenal and ſhipping left to wreck and ruin, and the funds applicable to their ſupport, waſted on ſcenery and actors.

Demoſth. Olynth. I.

Corn. Nep. Vit. Chabriæ.

Juſtin. L. 6. C. 9.

Plut. Vit. Phocion. Athenæ. L. 12.

Demoſth. Olynth. 1.

Nor were other great cities leſs votaries of corruptive eaſe; nor even was Sparta [157] without infection; Lyſander had brought home the gold of Perſia and ſpoils of Athens; Antalcidas the Spartan ambaſſador to Perſia on the late peace, received as a preſent from the great king a chaplet ſteeped in perfumes, and to divert the donor, danced a ſaraband, in which he buffooned the heroiſm of Leonidas. Shall we wonder at the ſucceſſes of Philip!

Diod. Sic. L. 14. Plut. Vit. Lyſandri.

Athenæ. L. 2.

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CHAP. VII.

ESTIMATE OF MANNERS IN THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE AND OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ATHENS.

NATIONAL character and particularities are rarely diſtinguiſhable in great and poliſhed cities, which ſeem to have an uniform and general character of their own, reſulting from the analogy of human paſſions acting on, and actuated by, the diffuſive intercourſe of a ſociety matured and refined. The rich croud together within a capitol, ever with the ſame views of enjoyment, and the poorer claſſes ever with the views to ſuſtenance from adminiſtering to the wants, and to the pleaſures of the rich: the intermediate ranks of life are filled by thoſe whom diſſipation hath ſomewhat depreſſed, or whom induſtry hath ſomewhat elevated: thus every degree is interlinked and complicated; and the gradations of character in the great and in the mean are further melted, as it were, together, through a vicious emulation, which incites each to treſpaſs on the ſtation above him, rather than to act as a fair competitor within his own proper claſs. Vanity and vice have then a reciprocative growth with the taſte of refinement, and with the ſenſe of enjoyment; and the meaſure thereof is to be eſtimated only by the means of attainment, ever fluctuating in the great maſs of the people at large;—from the fortunes of commerce and menial ingenuity,—or from the pre-eminence of genius, invention, and mental acquirement,—or laſtly, from aſſiduity in the mean practices, of adulatory dependance, and of preying on the vices and neceſſities of others. Societies ſo conſtituted in conſequence of the progreſs of arts,

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of ſciences, and of the refinements which ſatiety urges the ingenuity in queſt of, bear a ſtrong and mutual likeneſs from the occurrence of ſimilar ſituations operating on the common paſſions and underſtandings of men, through the general medium of poliſhed manners and depraved morals, which have been generated in the progreſs of ſenſual gratification, and of the arts to ſupply it.

MOREOVER, as the conſtituents of a ſtate become faſtidious and corrupt, the government ordinarily approaches nearer to an oligarchy or to deſpotiſm, and thus further aſſimilates the characters of men in the capitol of empire. Thus under analogous circumſtances of poliſhed intercourſe, the practices and purſuits of every people diſplay ſomething, which belongs ſo much to all great cities, as well as to one great city, that marks of national prejudice and particularity are worn away or ſcarcely perceptible; as in thoſe pictures placed in a full ſun, the diſtinguiſhing lines and colours are loſt in the glare, which at once brightens and confounds each part and object.

THE above ſpeculations are not only juſt when examining them by the teſt of cotemporary examples, but even when ſtated with alluſion to cities which have flouriſhed in wealth and elegance at the moſt diſtant periods: the characteriſtics of Theophraſtus are almoſt as applicable in any other city as in a Grecian, and as well at this day, as in the times he wrote them.

HAVING premiſed ſuch general reflections, which have their ſhare in an eſtimate of the manners of this great city, becauſe they belong to the eſtimate of every great city; the purpoſe of this chapter is to remark ſome peculiarities, and more eſpecially the exceptions that diſtinguiſhed Athens, from its free commonwealth having ſurvived its virtue; and from its democracy having become a tyrant, to which even pride and opulence bowed

in

in obedience ; to which arts and literature offered their incenſe, and to the caprices of which are to be attributed the extraordinary connections of groſſneſs and elegance, of courteouſneſs and oppreſſion, of philanthropy and injuſtice, which are to be traced in the authorities on which the preſent inveſtigation is founded. CHAP. VII.

It hath been ſtated, that the legiſlator had placed the election to military office, and to many executive truſts within the ſtate, in the ſuffrages of the aſſembly ; the qualification for all offices was ſcrutinized within the reſpective tribes, and occaſionally all offices were filled by the immediate interpoſition of the people, when at a critical juncture they thought proper to ſuperſede the mode of ballot or rotation. The ultimate reſort too of policy and of juſtice were veſted in the people by the inſtitutions of Solon and of Cliſthenes, who invented the oſtraciſm ; the uſage of "*provoco ad populum*" from the courts of judicature in general, and even from the Areopagitæ, was afterwards introduced by Ephialtes, at the inſtigation of Pericles ; the rendering account to the aſſembly of the conduct of each magiſtracy was part of the original inſtitution ; the rendering account of diſburſements of the public monies was thereon grafted, when the empire of the ſeas, the dominion acquired in conſequence, and the tributes thereon impoſed, gave riſe to the office of quæſtor of Greece, who ſoon was quæſtor only for Athens. Whilſt the neceſſities and fears of the people drew their regard to the preſerving and ſtrengthening the republican compact, as the reſource in danger, and afterwards as the ſource of acquiſition, theſe powers were aſſerted with diſcretion, and generally were exerciſed under impreſſions of common intereſt in legiſlation, in good policy, and in relative juſtice. As the courſe of conqueſts begat the aſcendancies of wealth and command, and extended too the circle of political functions ; and as riches thereby began to be valued, and office to be ſolicited ; and as thoſe who were

Hiſt. ſupra.

Thucyd. L. 1.

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ſolicited began to entertain an equal ſenſe of the value of the one, and of the favour conferred in beſtowing the other; opulence became the chief means of power, and remuneration entered into the ſyſtem of executive government, and the people received largeſſes from the ambitious, and from the reſponſible. Theſe evils had been felt early in the Peloponneſian war; and Pericles when firmly ſeated in the adminiſtration, (perhaps with intent of obviating the intrigues and ſubornation which might be employed to diſpoſſeſs him of his authority, no longer in itſelf dependant on theſe original means of elevation, procured the paſſing a law, adjudging to death thoſe convicted of bribery in canvaſſing, or during any queſtion pending before the aſſembly: but Iſocrates tells us expreſsly, that in deſpight thereof [158], bribery at elections was general in his days, and this law wholly diſregarded as obſolete; and ſays the great Grecian orator, "the gifts "of corruption are now reſpectable, the bribery if even confeſſed, "is treated as a jeſt, is treated as venial if adjudged, and the odium "lays only on the accuſer." Popular practice having introduced the venal ſyſtem, it found its way into the courts of juſtice; the adjuration to the Prytanes in a comedy of Ariſtophanes, is a curious proof of the notoriety of ſuch peculation; ſays Mneſilochus—

Iſocrat. Orat. de pace.

Demoſth. Orat. φιλιππ. § 43.

——By that right-hand, which oft [159] with open palm
You tend with pleaſure, if one brings you gold,
Hear me, O Prætor!

Ariſtoph. Comœd. Theſmophoriazuſæ.

Even the great cauſes of a public nature, and brought by appeal from the colonies, before the aſſembly, were to be expedited by bribery, (according to Xenophon) though he ſays not abſolutely that the merits of the cauſe were adjudged under ſuch influence.

Xenoph. Pol. Ath. C. 3. § 3.

THE idea of a popular aſſembly thus ſupreme, and at the ſame time corrupt and venal, ſuggeſts a conſequent demeanor of the

Eupatridai, or noble and rich, which compleats the ſcene of this flagitious age of Athens. CHAP. VII.

THE Agrarian inſtitutions circumſcribed the landed property of each individual; Alcibiades, though otherwiſe moſt wealthy, poſſeſſed but three hundred acres in Attica; no one poſſeſſed more; and the cenſus of qualification being yet eſtimated on landed property (for the levelling principle and laws of Ariſtides ſeem rarely to have been recognized by the aſſembly) a man of high blood and ancient eſtate, but yet poor in compariſon of others enriched from commerce and depredation, when he ſtood candidate for a military command or place of truſt, moved, "That "public baths be built; that public gardens be opened; that new "feaſts, ſacrifices, and theatrical ſhows be exhibited; and even "that the tributes of the provinces and iſlands be portioned out "individually to the citizens, or applied aggregately to their "amuſement and gratification." Others from the funds of their private accumulation gave general feaſts, as well as preſents ſeverally to each citizen; till the commonalty became ſo accuſtomed to donation, that they rather conſidered it in the light of a due than of a bounty, received it with indifference, and left private malice and envy to operate againſt thoſe eminent for wealth and ability; deeming it ſufficient gratitude to with-hold the cenſorial or judiciary decree, till no more was given, or till occaſion of reſentment offered. Chabrias having long corrupted the aſſembly, was neceſſitated to abſcond from Athens from apprehenſions of the envy which his exceſs of luxury had ſubjected him to, and from having exhauſted the means of obviating popular diſpleaſure: and Chares (according to Athenæus, who cites the authorities of Duris and Theopompus) kept his ground with the people ſometime longer ere he ſeceded to Sigæum, merely from having miſapplied a greater proportion of the funds for military levies, and thus having ſufficient to pay his harlots and

Platon. Dial. Alcibiad.

Xenoph. Pol. Ath. C. 2. § 10.

Demoſth. Olynth. 1.

Athenæ. L. 12.

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and fidlers, and yet wherewithal to conciliate the magiſtrates, demagogues, and even a majority in the tribes.

Demoſth. Olynth. 3. § 40.

FROM war, peculation, or trade, ſo many families had acquired inordinate wealth, that private houſes were built with a magnificence which outvied the public buildings; and the luxury within being conform to the ſplendor without, the poſſeſſors, if not the favourites of popular caprice, became the objects of invidious regard, and in ſuch light were obnoxious to idle accuſations and vexatious demands:—thus to retain clients and partizans not only was neceſſary to thoſe, who took an active part in public affairs, but to thoſe noted for opulence, and who being thence liable to the impoſition of ſuch offices and burthens, or to ſuch wanton crimination, as the envy or avidity of the commonalty might ſuggeſt, were to buy their quiet and ſecurity by the ſame conciliatory means, as the ambitious their power, and the amenable their indemnity. Corruption and bribery were thus neceſſary to all who had ought to give, as well as to thoſe who had ought to aſk: under the head of avarice in Theophraſtus, even the miſer gives his treat, though ſordid and ſuitable to the character.

Iſocrat. Orat. Περὶ Ἀντιδοσεως

NOTWITHSTANDING this general venality, under particular circumſtances, good and great men found their way to the helm of government: when a ſenſe of public calamity, or apprehenſion of danger ſuperſeded the feeling of more partial intereſts, an Iphicrates, or a Phocion were called forth, and when the occaſion was paſt, an Iphicrates was fined, and a Phocion condemned.

Plut. Vit. Phocion.

Ariſtot. Pol. l. 4. C. 8.

"NOBILITY," ſays Ariſtotle, "*is the offſpring of ancient* "*wealth and virtue*;" it thus muſt find its way into every conſtitution of ſtate; whatever popular and levelling principles may oppoſe

oppoſe its pretenſions, popular partialities will ever countenance the diſtinction, and pay a deference to the genius of great men, and to the name of anceſtry: ſays the *Demus*, or perſonified character of the people to the pudding-ſeller who ſets up as a ſtateſman againſt Cleon, "*but are you friend of the blood of Har-* "*modius?*"

Ariſtoph. Equites. Com. v. 786.

MANY young nobles were at times patronized and called into action by the citizens; but intrigue and ambition had too many knowing and vigilant profeſſors, not to obviate their promotion with difficulties and dangers. Thoſe of eloquence and ability ſuited to maintain the conteſt, became demagogues, and embroiled the ſtate with new parties: clamours for one, and clamours againſt another were heard on all ſides, and favouritiſm and faction divided the buſineſs of each day: public meaſures then were adminiſtered with views to ſelf-intereſt, and approved or condemned with views to party: virtue and wiſdom were no longer the motives of election, and thence could not be expected in the miniſtry of thoſe choſen: either from idle partialities, or from venal influence, the power of the people was thus exerted in delegating and in reſuming it, whilſt a ſenſe of collective dignity and of the principles of their conſtitution, was loſt in obſequiouſneſs to, and in admiration of, the great man, whom themſelves had made great;—till caprice or corruption ſuggeſted the promotion of a rival; or till the feelings of public calamity were vented in the diſgrace and perſecution of the quondam favourite; for on ſuch tenure each partook in turn of popular favour, and a temporary elevation. The old compact and union of the democracy was thus broken into pretenſions and pleas of individuals, and of their partizans; the people no longer held a collective ſelf-regard; power, glory, and wealth, were no longer the boaſt and object to each as a citizen for the commonwealth, but to each as a ſelfiſh man for ſelf: I read with feeling the

Xenoph. Pol. Ath. C. 2. § 17.

words

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words of Demoſthenes, when he obſerves, " that in the good " old times [160] of the republic, *it was not ſaid that Miltiades* " *had conquered at Marathon, but the* Athenians; *nor that The-* " *miſtocles had been victorious at Salamis, but the* Athenians;" *now the language is,* " *that* Iphicrates *has cut off a detachment,* " *that* Timotheus *has taken Corcyra, and that* Chabrias *beat the* " *enemy at Naxos.*" The prevalency of perſonal attachments induced ſome to enter the liſts, but obſerving the viciſſitudes of popular favour, many nobles kept aloof from the dangers of the aſſembly: the moſt active ſpirits ſerved in the wars; others lived in the ſchools of the philoſophers;—but in this luxurious and poliſhed capitol, we may believe Iſocrates (I think) when he ſays, " the greater part ſpent their days at dice, and their nights with harlots:" nor was their luxury of an ordinary ſtamp, if an inference is to be drawn from the feaſt of Phocus, where the gueſts bathed their feet in wines impregnate with ſpices. In the *Sympoſion* of Xenophon, we have the moſt curious deſcription extant of a convivial meeting of the firſt men at Athens, written about this period, and probably with a view to reſemblance of the elegant ſociety, that ſtateſman, warrior and philoſopher was habituated to. The Sympoſia of the Greek ſophiſts in general repreſent a fictitious meeting, during which the diſcourſe, narratory or argumentative, is engaged on ſome ſerious topic, ſome queſtion in literature or phyſiology, or abſtract ſpeculation:—in *this* we have a brilliant picture of uſages and manners. The gueſts ſet down to a ſumptuous entertainment, and put briſkly round their bottle of *Thaſian* wine, whilſt ſucceſſively a conjuror, a dancing girl, and Syracuſan ſingers enter to amuſe the gueſts, and ſuggeſt fund of obſervation: Philippus, a wit and buffoon of diſtinction (every great city hath at leaſt one ſuch character) during the entertainment taps at the door, and being told *to come in*, enters, and places himſelf at table with the reſt, obſerving, " that he is a comical fellow, and being particularly " prepared

Demoſth. Orat. περὶ συνταξεως. § 34.

Iſocrat. Orat. Arcopag.

Plut. Vit. Phocion.

Platon. & Plutarch. Sympoſ.

Xen. Sympoſ.

" prepared to dine out from being very hungry, and having no " dinner at home, he thinks it moſt comical to get a good din- " ner where he is not expected :" there is ſome ſeriouſneſs on the intruſion, and the wit is almoſt out of countenance; at length he makes his party good; humour and feſtivity go round; ſmaller glaſſes are demanded, that the circulation of bumpers may paſs more ſpeedily, and with leſs inconvenience; the converſation is deſultory, and a mixture of the ſerious and jocoſe, in which each ſpeaker has his ſhare, and in which Socrates, I think, ſhines as much in the character of wit as of philoſopher; his diſpute with Critobulus for the palm of beauty, and his deſcription of his own face and its pretenſions, are replete with humour and Attic ſalt: at length wine prevails, all talk together, and to compoſe the tumult, Socrates ſtrikes up a ſong.— This convivial eſſay would alone corroborate the reflections introduced at the opening of this chapter; it affords a picture, which with a few occaſional touches might repreſent a ſociety of London or Paris, as well as of Athens.

THOUGH I have expatiated on this treatiſe of Xenophon, and regarded it as authentic grounds of inference, from the aſſumption that in delineating the ſocial habits of his friends, the writer could not imagine more, nor would ſtate leſs, elegance and refinement, than actually characteriſed the times;—yet I muſt caution the reader againſt too readily adopting the general remarks and reflections on the people of Athens, in the eſſays of that writer on the conſtitution and revenues of the republic: Xenophon [161] was habituated to foreign manners, and prejudiced in favour of Aſiatic ſubſerviency, or of Spartan diſcipline; he loved not the people, and he carped at their freedom under cover of cenſures on their abuſe of it; he was of an ariſtocratic turn of mind, and regarded not a popular ſtate with due impartiality, and fair conſideration.

Xenoph. Pol. Ath. & ejuſd. Vectigalia. Cyropœdia. ejuſd. encom. Ageſilai, & aliter ſparſim.

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An eſtimate of national manners founded on mere anecdote or cotemporary allegations and opinions is ever liable to miſtake, or rather muſt be erroneous; for anecdotes irrelatively cited, are of the moſt doubtful tendency, and cotemporary opinions even if not perverted by prejudice or partiality, are obſcured by the miſt, which ſimilarity of life and manners throw over at once the object, which is regarded, and him who regards it; or, what is yet more dangerous to truth, the approximation of the broad and capacious ſcene narrows the view of the beholder to the moſt glaring, diſtorted, and gigantic parts, and thus the moſt ſtriking excentricities of individual humour, are falſely, but with good faith, ſtated as the characteriſtics of an age; and thus the ſtrongeſt exceptions are ſet forth as the general rule. Of what character and temper the people of Athens collectively, were at this period, may better perhaps be deduced from fact, analogy, and ſpeculation, than from the looſe aſperſion or mere remark of any writer whatever.

The habitual exerciſe of power, the number, diverſity, and importance of the queſtions that came under daily cognizance, the eloquent harangues, and laboured arguments of the orators, all conduced to render the commonalty acute and informed; the public recitals of the ſophiſts in the Lycæum from Heſiod, from Homer, and the beſt writers in proſe and verſe rendered the people generally erudite; whilſt their taſte in the fine arts became enlightened and juſt from the ſubminiſtration of painting and ſculpture to their ſhows and feſtivals, and to the ornamenting their porticos and public walks; from the muſical conteſts in the odeum, and from the exhibitions [162] of the theatre. The theatre they moſt delighted in, and thence the ſcenic productions were more particularly molded to their habits of language and wit: a preſumption of the licentiouſneſs thereof occurs from *that* of their great comic writer, who aſſuredly wrote in conformity to the

Iſocrat. Panath.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

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the taſte of his audience; but it ſhould be remembered that the prevalency of that audience, which directed all, and which commanded the poet, lay in the numerous and lordly populace; who, though enlightened and inſtructed beyond the commonalty of every other ſtate, had yet the proneneſs to coarſe alluſions and low humour, which ever characteriſes a commercial, ſeafaring, and free nation: when to this we add that the women were not appreciated at Athens, as in a more courtly capitol, and that thus an influence was loſt, which ever infuſes a delicacy of ſentiment, and refinements in behaviour and converſation, we ſhall not wonder that comedy became groſs and libertine: hence we are to account for the obſcenity of the plot and language of the *Lyſiſtrata*, as well as for its indecent ſatire on the female ſex; hence we are to account for the dirty jeſts of Xanthias in another comedy, and for the free treatment of Bacchus and the deities, analogous to the monkiſh interludes of a devil and a ſaint, which diverted our pious anceſtors. The political as well as the vicious temper of the ſtate, is to be deduced from the plays of Ariſtophanes; in the "*clouds*," the "*knights*," and *acharnenſes*," we find the roaſting a prætor, a philoſopher, or a demagogue, was a favourite diverſion: indeed we are told that the voice of the people often pointed out the object of ſatire for the ſtage, and that it was ſafe to indulge in the groſſeſt perſonalities, ſo that the aſperſion or jeſt touched not on themſelves in their aggregate capacity: this remark of Xenophon is particularly corroborated by the earneſtneſs of the poet in precluding ſuch applications;

Eccleſiazuſæ Lyſiſtrata, & Comœd. Ariſtoph.

Ranæ. ejuſd. Comœd. ſcen. 1.

Nubes & equites Comœd. & aliæ. Ariſt.

Xenoph. Pol. Ath. L. 2. § 18.

"*Many* [163] *there are — I do not mean the ſtate —*
"*Remark again — I do not mean the ſtate!*"

Acharnenſes Com. ver. 515. Diog. Laert. Vit. Demet.

Thus was the comic ſcene in occaſional ſubſerviency to vulgar humour and to popular topics; yet if we look for a picture of private life we ſhould rather recur to the *ſelf-tormentor* of Menander

Terent. Heautontimor. Athenæus. p. 651.

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(though probably written after the ſubverſion of the republic) which is preſerved in the tranſlation of Terence; wherein the character of Soſtrata marks particularly the ſubordination of the matrons, whilſt a ſingular compound of philanthropy and cruelty occurs in that of Chremes—*qui nihil humani a ſe alienum putat*, and who yet orders his wife when pregnant to put the child to death, if it ſhould prove a female. Perhaps the *middle* comedy, of which I think the Plutus of Ariſtophanes is an example, was written for, and ſuited to the taſte of the higher ranks of citizen; whilſt the licentiouſneſs and perſonal ſatire of Ariſtophanes, in his other productions, with all his wit, his merriment, and his poetical effuſions that decorate even his freeſt comedies, were objects of diſguſt as well as dread. His libertiniſm was, indirectly at leaſt, reprobated by the rhetoricians and philoſophers: ſays Ariſtotle [164], "the legiſlature ſhould provide againſt the introduction of indecent terms and language; licentiouſneſs of ſpeech leads to that of action, and thence youth ſhould be as little accuſtomed to hear, as to ſpeak it."

Ariſtot. Poi. L. 7. C. 17.

PLUTARCH obſerves that there ever was in the ſtate, a ſort of equivocal junction, like a flaw in a bar of iron which held together the popular and the ariſtocratic party, and that in the time of Pericles, it broke, and the claſs of nobility was afterwards entirely ſeparated: the Eupatridai at this period ſeem to have cultivated diſtinct ſciences, a diſtinct literature, and a diſtinct religion: we read ſcarcely of any man of note who was not a diſciple [165] of ſome particular ſophiſt, from whom he adopted ſome new and myſterious tenet: hence aroſe the charges of impiety and hereſy againſt ſo many great men,—their ſecret faith exciting ſucceſſively curioſity, ſuſpicion, and malice.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

IN conjunction with other reaſons ariſing from the nature of government, perhaps it was from the excluſive care *religionis philoſo-*

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philoſophorum as diſtinct *à religione vulgi*;—perhaps it was from the care of ſome holy ſecret of a more rational religion, that the reſerve of the better ſort concurred with the practice of the commonalty in excluding the women from mixed ſociety: general diſcourſe might touch on ſubjects fatal to the pious prejudices of the people; the female mind, warm and ſuited to the ſuſtainment of neceſſary ſuperſtitions, might be warped from its due courſe, or overheated run into the extremes of hereſy; or in zeal for the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of adoration, betray the profeſſors of a more ſpiritual tenet, to the fury and enthuſiaſm of the aſſembly. Policy too in a popular government might wiſely obviate the interference which was to be apprehended from a promiſcuous intercourſe, and the aſcendancy of the female charms and mind, if generally eſtimated and reſpected. Perhaps a further reaſon (and the true one) may yet remain to account for the little deference paid to the female character in Athens: I allude to the reſult of extenſive commerce and marine: trade and naval employment promote habits of excluſive ſociety among the men; and I think the deficiency of polite aſſiduity towards the other ſex within every nation, may in ſome degree be meaſured by its degree of commerce and marine, together with that of political importance, which the conſtitution of government allows generally to its conſtituents.

Plato de Legibus. L. 10.

FROM theſe, and perhaps other cauſes, ſecluſion, and in ſome ſort, degradation, put the fair ſex at a diſtance from the other; yet is not the inference to be admitted, of more moderation, chaſtity, or other female virtues in Athens than grace other cities and later periods: from the comic writers it may be ſhown, that the women had their faſhions, their luxuries, their lovers, their dram-cloſets, their trinkets, and their paint; but theſe vanities were reſtricted to uſe within the domeſtic circle, or to extraordinary occaſions of celebration and feſtival. To controul and

Αυσιτελατα & ικκλησιαζουσαι Καμ. ver. 24. &c. et al. Ariſtoph. vid. et ſcholia C. 18. L. 1. Ælian. var. Hiſt. ed. Khunii.

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γυναικονομοι & γυναικοκοσμοι. Potter. Ant. Græc.

and obſerve the manners of the women of Athens, was not left merely to the kind diſcretion of their inmates, but was ordained by inſtitution, and an office for the purpoſe appointed. Thus regulated and confined by public cenſors, or by cuſtoms, or by the harſhneſs and vigilance of their huſbands and friends, in proportion to the temper and affections of thoſe they lived with, the matrons partook but little of the refinements of the age; and female accompliſhment and elegance were the exceptions of thoſe whom the laws and uſages of the ſtate regarded as aliens, and left indifferently to a freer courſe of conduct, and therewith to acquirement of the arts and beauties, which render the ſex more excellent and captivating.

Platon. Menexen. Dial. Athenæ. Deipnoſ. L. 13.

If the matrons of Athens were inferior, the courtezans of Athens were ſuch as elevated that character above its juſt and proper level of diſtinction, in any ſtate, wherein a ſenſe of morals hath its due influence: at the time when the famous Aſpaſia taught rhetoric and philoſophy in Athens, there were an hundred and thirty other miſtreſſes of note, who by their attractions of accompliſhment and converſation, allured the firſt citizens to their houſes, as the receptacles of knowledge and the liberal arts, as well as of voluptuous gratification: they were celebrated for their learning and wit as much as for their beauty; the apothegms of Gnathæna were preſerved with the ſame care as the ſtatue of Phryné; they became reſpected as well as admired, and their admirers arrogated a ſort of honour and diſtinction from the merits of their predilection: to have the name inſcribed in the liſt of lovers on the baſis of Phrynés ſtatue, was canvaſſed, as an object of ambition; and it was placed at Delphos between thoſe of Archidamus of Sparta, and Philip of Macedon:—nay, temples and altars were raiſed to many of the ſuperior courtezans;—ſays the poet,

"*Many's*

" *Many's the ſane, to many a miſtreſs* [166] *raiſed,*
" *But none in Greece are raiſed to married dames.*"

Philetærus. Poet. ap. Athenæ. L. 13.

Theſe diſtinctions were the conſequence of the liberal ſtudies, by which this claſs of women prepared [167] and ſuited themſelves, to the converſations and entertainment of the ableſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed characters. When harlots dogmatized, philoſophy muſt needs be in vogue, and philoſophers of every degree reſpected: many of theſe, the moſt eminent, were ſlaves; nor was their ſervitude a prejudice to their eſtimation or honours:—Such was Epicurus, and ſuch was Phædon, the friend of Plato.

Macrob. Sat. I. C. 11.

VIEWING the ſociety of Athens in ſome lights, virtue, wiſdom, and learning, ſeem to conſtitute the only diſtinctions; viewing it in others, avarice and vice bear unqualified ſway; complicating the general ſcene, we behold the picture of Parrhaſius, who, in framing his perſonification of the Athenian aſſembly,—" *voluit varium, iracundum, injurium, inconſtantem, eundem* " *exorabilem, clementem, miſericordem, excelſum, glorioſum, humilem,* " *fugacem, et omnia pariter oſtendere.*"—Such particularities as ſeemed neceſſary to elucidate this picture, and, in ſome inſtances, to extend its ſubject, and heighten its colour, I have curſorily adduced; a further detail of miſcellaneous cuſtoms would be more prolix and digreſſive, than ſuits the tenor of this treatiſe.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 35. C. 10.

HAVING in a previous chapter, on the ſubject of manners, ſeized ſuch ſtation of enquiry, as ſuited to the anticipating ſcenes of conqueſt and glory; I have taken this ſtation, as opening to the proſpect of ruin and decline.

FROM the grounds of ſeparation between the nobles and commonalty, are to be traced jealouſies, diſſentions, and tumult: from

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the grounds of their political connection, are to be viewed intrigues, faction, and ſervility on the one ſide; and on the other turbulency, rapaciouſneſs, and caprice, tending often to elevate the worſt men, through the worſt means:—from the grounds of democratic licentiouſneſs and venality, are to be obſerved the further reſult of the ſeveral parties and of their influence, cloſing in a corrupt and unſtable adminiſtration of government: from the general regard to wealth as the ſource of voluptuous gratification, are to be deſcried at once avidity and indolence, oppreſſive in ſovereignty, and neglectful of the means to ſecure and to confirm it: and from the looſe, wanton, and ſelfiſh application of the reſources of the ſtate, are to be anticipated,—alienation of the dependancies of the republic, its impoveriſhment, its imbecility, and its ſurrender of internal liberty with foreign dominion.—Laſtly, (and it is the brighteſt ſcene before us!) from the arts and knowledge of this depraved, but enlightened and illuſtrious people, the ſuggeſtion occurs, that their glories were to outlive their empire, and even their republic; and Athens long famed for liberty, commerce, and the empire of the ſeas,—be thereafter not leſs famous as *a ſchool to all nations for the liberal arts, eloquence, and philoſophy!*

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OF THE TREATMENT OF DEPENDANCIES OF EMPIRE—OF THE SOCIAL WAR—OF THE INDEPENDANCY IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF ATTAINED BY CHIOS, COS, RHODES, AND OTHER TRIBUTARIES.

THE people of Athens, from the inactivity of the neighbouring ſtates, drew a falſe concluſion, favourable at once to their love of eaſe, and to their exerciſe of power: as the moment of ebriety gives a tranſitory force, and even to the man worn out by vicious gratifications, affords a ſenſation of vigour not much diſſimilar to that of a robuſt and heathful conſtitution, or if diſcriminate, yet differing only in a ſhow of ſuperior heat and impetuoſity; ſo the Athenians inflated with luxurious and unmoleſted enjoyment, aſſumed the haughty deportment of high and invincible authority; and no longer curbed by apprehenſions of a foreign foe, they grew wanton in tyranny, and treated their dependant iſlands and provinces with ſuch indignity and oppreſſion, as drove them to a defiance, and to a trial of that force which had ſo harſhly been exerciſed to their prejudice whilſt in paſſive ſubmiſſion: under ſuch circumſtances of diſaffection, an occaſion is ſeldom wanting to the more open avowal of wrongs, of the right to redreſs, and of the means to enforce.

AMPHIPOLIS was one of thoſe cities which had taken advantage, firſt of the victories of Lyſander, and then of the edict of the Perſian king, to withdraw from its dependancy on the Athenians: the recovery of their ſovereignty over this city was a prime object of their ambition, and the enterprize when undertaken, Plut. Vit. Phocion.

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taken, involved the republic in a general war with its other ancient dependancies; who took this opportunity of aſſociating with Amphipolis, in order to attain by force of arms, ſome ſhare of commerce and enfranchiſement; which the unſocial pride and monopolizing ſpirit of the Athenians ſo unjuſtly, and with ſuch ill policy too, withheld from thoſe who were the immediate agents of their own opulence and power;—treating their repeated petitions with contempt, anſwering their remonſtrances with menace.

Diodor. Sic. L. 16.

THE detail of grievances, urged by the diſaffected members of the ſtate was the reſult, partly of the vitiated government of the ſovereign republic, and partly originated in the ſyſtem of adminiſtration, which almoſt every commercial and naval power has adopted in regard to the dependancies of its dominion, or from conqueſt, or from colonization. Iſocrates, on the occaſion of theſe rebellions, wrote his famous oration, in which he adviſed his countrymen not only to a ſurrender of the matter in conteſt with the iſlands; but to forego in future all views to the empire of the ſeas, as expoſing them to frequent wars and dangers, and not leſs as expoſing them to a courſe of corruption [168], affecting the principles of their conſtitution and government: this part of his argument Ariſtides wrote in anſwer to; and, as Iſocrates allowed the ſource of corruption to have been the ſource of power and wealth, he ſupplied Ariſtides, and what was of more importance, he ſupplied the people with an argument, which no ſpeculative reaſoning was calculated to controvert and overturn: nor could the topic of emancipation be palatable, but from the neceſſity of the times; that of a more conciliatory treatment in reſpect to ſubordinate iſlands and provinces, is well worthy attention; as the good ſenſe and ſound policy of the advice, equally with its philanthropy, are urged in terms applicable to every ſtate under like predicament of ſupremacy.

Iſocrat. Orat. περὶ εἰρήνης.

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THE Athenians in common with other heads of dominion, ſought to ſuſtain their power, by adminiſtering the government, by retaining the ultimate cognizance of civil cauſes, and by controuling the trade, and by garriſoning the fortreſſes in the ſeveral diſtricts of their empire: they ſought to make that power profitable from a monopoly of commerce, from exactions of internal revenue, and from ſupplies of ſhipping, and from levies for their marine and armies.—Such are general ſubjects of diſcontent, and often have occaſioned inteſtine commotion, and bloody wars within the circle of every extenſive kingdom: but when a perverſion, or extraordinary enlargement of the powers of exaction and controul hath taken root in the ſoil of corruption and tyranny; and therefrom nouriſhed itſelf to ſuch vicious magnitude of head, ſhedding around the poiſons gathered from its overheated ſtock, that private property, public rights, and every juſt claim of the man and of the citizen deaden beneath its covert; —that in ſuch caſe, all ſhould lay the axe to its root, and its ſubverſion be urged at every hazard, is a certain conſequence: and particularly in application to a free ſtate, wherein the liberty and ſecurity of the ſubject diſplay a contraſt, which the ordinary feelings of men will not long permit them to ſuffer, merely becauſe born without the pale of the ſupreme and privileged diſtrict: they will naturally then ſeek to conſtitute a like diſtrict for themſelves.

IN the detail of oppreſſions which marked Athenian government, I ſhall cloſely adhere to the facts cited, or implied by obſervation, of the Grecian hiſtorians and orators; and this I premiſe, that every application may have its full force, as ariſing from the grounds of hiſtory, nor be ſcouted as the ſuggeſtion of fancy ſubſervient to forced alluſion; — I ſeek it not, and I wiſh that circumſtances had never occurred to render it obvious!

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In the adminiſtration of the dependancies of Athens, a popular or democratic conſtitution was adopted, ſimilar in appearance to that of the ſovereign ſtate, but it had only the form and ſhow of ſuch conſtitution: Athens eſtimated the funds, and apportioned the tribute of each province, and further impoſed a tax of one per cent. on its exports; and as it called each queſtion and cauſe of importance before its *own aſſembly*, the legiſlation muſt neceſſarily have followed and been modelled to its own: further, the province was controuled by a garriſon, and that of the worſt ſort, namely, of mercenaries from Lydia, Phrygia, and Syria, who, as mere ſoldiers of fortune, were probably little conſiderate of how much they vexed, pillaged, and alienated the affections of the people; and that very people was to pay thoſe who robbed and inſulted them. The Athenian officers and magiſtrates who were delegated to command, joined in the wanton exerciſe of authority and depredation; on which, obſerves Demoſthenes, "*the gain was their own, the odium* [169], *was the republic's.*" Nor was the reſponſibility an object of dread, whilſt the Athenians in diſregard of the merits of each plea, ever ſided with thoſe who puſhed their power to its extremeſt verge: in this their partiality was not confined to their own citizens; the men of diſtinction from family and opulence in each iſland, looked to ſucceſs in each private cauſe, proportionally as they were noted for a dereliction of the intereſts of their countrymen, and for ſubſerviency to the rapaciouſneſs of the ſovereign people; who collectively were guilty of ſucceſſive exorbitancy and miſapplication in exacting new imports, and in diſtributing the monies individually within their own body, under the name of fees for attendance on public affairs, or on private cauſes. Thence too occurred a frequency of litigation, and a delay of juſtice; every diſpute was ſent home from the prætors in each province, and the proceſs of every diſpute was ſpun out (often during a whole year) to the diſtreſs and ruin of the parties: juſtice was only to be

Iſocrat Paneg. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 5. C. 7.

Xenoph. Πολ. Αθην. C. 1. § 16. & 17.

Xenoph. περι προσοδων. C. 2. § 3. & C. 1. § 1.

Iſocrat. Orat. περι ειρηνης.

Demoſt. Orat. περι συνταξεως. P. 97. ed. Benenat.

Xen. Πολ. Αθην. C. 1. § 14.

Xen. Πολ. Αθην. C. 1. § 15.

Ibid. & § 16, & 17.

Ejuſd. C. 3. § 1.

be expedited by bribes; as if it were in compenſation for the loſs in detail, ariſing from the premature cloſing of the judicial proceedings. CHAP. VIII.

Ejuſ. C. 3. §3.

Such were the grievances from which the tributaries of Athens ſought redreſs: the great ſtateſman Demoſthenes and the good old rhetor Iſocrates equally pleaded for pacific meaſures, and the rectifying theſe abuſes without recurrence to the force of arms: ſays the former, "*it* is by a communion of benefits, and not by "garriſons that dependancies of empire are preſerved and turned "to account:" the other further inſiſts that from a conciliatory demeanor, "one advantage [170] above all will accrue, we "ſhall have the alliance of all not enforced but voluntary": but the theſis of Xenophon ſeems the ground-work of all obſervations on this head; "nothing is wanted," he obſerves, "to the ren-"dering a commercial ſtate peaceful and flouriſhing but a ſyſtem "of legiſlation adopted and purſued on principles of equality, "philanthropy and general protection." Indeed diſtant dependancies can never eſſentially ſerve a mother-country or ſovereign ſtate, unleſs good-will, as well individual as national, founded in the ſenſe of mutual intereſts and reciprocal benefit is the cement of the union; *Les forces particulieres ne peuvent ſe reunir, ſans que toutes les volontés ſe reuniſſent.* Without ſuch incentives to intercourſe as ariſe from equal advantage, equal participation of rights, and from a confidence in the ſovereign ſtate, as extending equally its care to the proſperity as well as ſecurity of all, the dependancies will never enrich the parent-country in times of peace, by the genuine and ſalutary tribute of a free and zealous commerce; nor in times of war and diſtreſs, add to its force by the vigorous aſſiſtance of free ſubſidy and voluntary levies:—the members of empire will, in the one caſe, be the vexatious ſource of ſcanty and unprofitable revenue, and in the other caſe an oppreſſive weight of oſtenſible defence or annoy-

Demoſt. Orat. περὶ συνταξεως. p. 97.

Iſocrat. orat. περὶ εἰρηνης.

Xenoph Πολ. Αθην. c. 1.

l'Eſprit des Loix. L. 1. C. 3.

ance

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ance which will diſtreſs, rather than aſſiſt the ſovereignty;—as the warrior who bears twenty weapons which he cannot wield, is weakened by the weight and incumbrance, and yet cannot yield them up, leſt he arm his enemy; and thus his apparent force is his real weakneſs.

In every age the conſiderate ſtateſman ſeems to have admitted the force of the above obſervations, but they rarely have been admitted in practice, at the criſis when their expediency might have had effect. The paſſions of domination, of avarice, and of pride, have too often given up the ear of a people to the voice of an intereſted miniſter; and the means of office, which foreign controul, and above all, which the aſſerting that controul put in his hands, ſuffice to the procuring him greedy partizans and agents, who become zealous abettors of his views,—views which avarice, ambition, and the ſecuring his power, firſt by exciting and then by feeding the prejudices of the people, and from the patronage of oppreſſive government, and laſtly from the patronage of war, have ſuggeſted to him. Chares (whoſe manners and conduct have been alluded to in a previous chapter) and who was *an orator* as well as officer, had preſent influence in the Athenian aſſembly: moderation and temper were thence ſcouted, and all ideas of conceſſion to the iſlands treated as puſillanimous, inexpedient, and unneceſſary. The arrogance and intractability of one party engaged Athens in this unprofitable war;—perhaps the ſpeeches of Iſocrates and Demoſthenes might have ſerved to inſpirit the colonies, ſow diviſions at home, and render the cauſe deſperate.

Plut. Vit. Phocion.

Iſocrat. orat. περὶ εἰρήνης.
Demoſt. Orat. περὶ συνταξέως.

Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and ſucceſſively Byzantium and other cities conſpired to humble the arrogance and preſcribe ſome limits to the juriſdiction of the ſovereign republic: Chares went forth at the head of an army to immediately cruſh this rebellion

Diodor. Sic. L. 16.

rebellion, and puniſh the authors of revolt: but ſuch wars are not ſo immediately concluded, wherein the ſubject ſucceſſively exaſperates, wherein the minds of men are ſo wholly engaged, wherein the attack is often careleſs, becauſe preſumptuous, wherein defence is ever obſtinate, becauſe reſentment of the paſt and dread of the future, are equally precluſive of ſubmiſſion, and wherein the haughty ſpirit of the aggreſſors is equally precluſive of terms. An Athenian fleet ſent out under Chabrias was beaten off Chios, and Chabrias killed: the confederates then purſued an active courſe of hoſtilities, interrupted the Athenian commerce at ſea, and laid waſte the iſlands of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos. It was now found that this *ſocial war* was of ſerious moment, and reinforcements were ſucceſſively diſpatched to the Athenian fleets and armies; old generals and admirals were called into ſervice; in the liſt of commanders on the Helleſpont, we read the names of Iphicrates and Timotheus. The Athenian fleet on that ſtation conſiſted of an hundred and twenty ſail, that of the confederates of an hundred ſail; they were within view, when a ſtorm aroſe, and from the advice of Iphicrates and Timotheus, the order for engagement being thence deferred, the fleets ſeparated in the night, and met no more. Chares accuſed thereon his comrades in command, "from whoſe timidity (he ſaid) the occaſion was "loſt of cloſing the war at a ſingle blow:"—the aſſumption of victory coſt but little; Iphicrates and Timotheus were fined and baniſhed, becauſe the war was not cloſed at this fortunate opportunity of deſtroying a fleet of nearly equal force, and on equal terms of engagement in the fury of a tempeſt!—Iphicrates might have ſaid, and perhaps did ſay, "that not only the ſo"vereignty of the republic, but its very power, its reſources, "its exiſtence, were at ſtake with its whole naval force, and "that no friend to his country was warranted in the choice of ſo deep a game." Chares having thus diſengaged himſelf at once

Corn. Nep. Vit. Chabriæ. Diodor. Sic. L. 16.

Diodor. S. L. 16.

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once from the competition, and from the obſervance of his rivals, meditated ſome enterprize ſuited to ingratiate him with the aſſembly; and an occaſion offered in the revolt of the rich ſatrap Artabazus from the king of Perſia, to whom Chares tendered the aſſiſtance of his fleet, on condition of receiving a very large ſum of money: this he in part remitted to Athens; Chares knew the temper of his countrymen; the Athenians received the prize with joy and approbation, and ſanctioned the conduct of Chares with a vote of thanks. Soon however the conſequences of the conduct of Chares, and of the rapacious concurrence of the people brought with them regret and diſpleaſure, and the vote of thanks was eraſed, and Chares fled to Sigæum. The Perſian king irritated by the ſupport given to Artabazus, was ſaid to be preparing a fleet of three hundred ſail to inveſt the Piræeus: the menace of invading Attica became doubly formidable, from its being at variance with the better, namely, with the naval part of its common tributaries: the aſſociates too would have an ally in the great king; the ſentiment that to give much, was better than to hazard all prevailed with the aſſembly thus frightened rather than perſuaded into conceſſions of enfranchiſement and other advantages to the colonies and iſlands.—Thus ended the ſocial war after three years fruitleſs bloodſhed and expence: its effect was not merely the acquirement of unprecedented rights and privileges on the part of thoſe who inſtituted, or who entered into the conteſt; the ſupremacy of Athens was weakened in every quarter by the example; but now on any terms, it became neceſſary to pacify the power [171] of Perſia, by a ratification of the famous treaty of Antalcidas, an article in which (it may be remembered) guaranteed the emancipation of the Greek cities and iſlands from the controul of the greater republics. Perhaps the further price of this peace, was the detachment ſent under Phocion to aſſiſt the arms of Perſia in Cyprus.

Plut. Vit. Phocion.

IT

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IT is a misfortune ever attending political conteſts of the ſort abovementioned, that thoſe who begin well, end ill; they forego the reaſonable grounds they ſat out upon, and enlarge on their plan till it becomes too extenſive for their management and means, or they continue building on a narrow foundation, till they are overwhelmed in the ruins of an over weighty ſuperſtructure: had Chios, Cos, and Rhodes adhered to the ſpirit of their firſt requiſition for the redreſs of grievances, they might long have continued *the free appendages of a free ſtate:* not contented with freedom, they ſought and eſtabliſhed their independency on the diſtreſſes of the ſovereign republic; they then were ſometime torn and diſtracted with factions of oligarchy and democracy, in framing new and ſpeculative conſtitutions of government; and ſhortly after were ſwallowed up in the dominion of *their great ally*, and ſubmitted to the deſpotiſm of a Perſian ſatrap. The Rhodians then applied to Athens to deliver them from the oppreſſive government of Mauſolus: Athens might have protected and preſerved their liberty, but could not recover it for them: Demoſthenes adviſed his countrymen to an undertaking evidently above their ſtrength.

Demoſt. Orat. περι Ειρηνης. Ejuſd. Orat. περι ελευθ. των Ροδιων.

Ejuſd. orat. περι Ειρηνης. ſub. fin.

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OF PHILIP OF MACEDON—REMISS CONDUCT OF THE ATHENIANS IN OBVIATING THE ENTERPRIZES OF THAT KING—TEMPER OF THE TIMES DEDUCED FROM THE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES.

THE Athenians concluded the ſocial war on terms ſo unqualified with any circumſtance of advantage, retribution, or even of quiet to themſelves, that the motives to ſo haſty and general conceſſions muſt have been many and forcible: they had apprehenſions of what the Perſian *might* do; they had yet greater apprehenſions of what the Macedonian *was* doing. The Athenians were a free and popular ſtate, and they ſuddenly perceived that they had to act with, or to counteract an enterprizing and deſpotic king, and him too in their vicinity: a deſpotic king in the neighbourhood of the territories of a republic is ever an object of dread; and ſuch a king as Philip of Macedon, had he not his virtues, had he only the vices which Demoſthenes objects to him, was more an object of dread than any other king: allowing a full force to the moſt outrageous and ſatirical allegations in that orator's Philippics and other harangues, or taking the ſatire only; it appears, "that Philip was "bountiful to profuſeneſs; that he loved company, and was ever "conciliating in company; that he could adapt his converſation "to every ſociety,—to the ſtateſman, the wit, the philoſopher, "the buffoon; that he ſcanned each character, and that his own "was yet to be unfolded; that none knew his ſecrets, and that "he knew the ſecrets of every one; that he was cautious in "deſign, and bold and ſudden in enterprize; that he was ever "deceiving,

Demoſth. Orat. Olynth. et Philippic. ſparſim et ejuſd. περὶ παραπρεσβειας. Diodor. Sic. L. 17. ſub. fin.

" deceiving, and yet had the art to enſure confidence; that he " bought whom he could, and forced whom he could not buy; " that in a word he was *a politician* and a *general*." CHAP. IX.

THE deſigns of Philip were for ſome time conducted with the moſt wary policy, and covered with every art of intrigue and negotiation; but they were now ſufficiently opening to view, for even the blindeſt to have ſome glimmering of the ſcope to which they directed, and ſome apprehenſion of the ruin that muſt enſue to the general authority, and even liberties of the great Grecian republics. Athens more particularly had reaſon to take alarm; ſome of the few relicts of her once powerful empire were ſcattered on the confines of Macedon, and its king's firſt object was the ſeizure of theſe ſeveral frontiers of his dominion, to ſecure as well as to enlarge his own territories, previous to an avowal of his more ambitious purpoſes: unfortunately it *might* have turned out for him that ſo many of theſe barrier towns were appendant to the ſovereignty of Athens; " unfortunately, " (ſays Demoſthenes) for had that degenerate ſtate, inſtead of " ſeeking arguments for its laſcivious indolence, been maturely " watchful over the motions of Philip; awakened by his at- " tack on their own particular rights had it interpoſed, and " given a *timely* ſupport to its cities; or *at firſt* had it accepted " the proffered alliance of Olynthus, this plotting monarch " checked on his onſet, had not thenceforward preſumed to " meditate his extenſive ſchemes of conqueſt and command." The Athenians amuſed and lulled into a fond ſecurity by Philip, and ſoothed by his proteſtations at the very time he was mutilating their empire, and undermining their deareſt intereſts, are a curious inſtance of, in how ſhort a time, a vicious luxury can debaſe the underſtanding, as well as ſpirit of a brave and enlightened people!

Demoſth. φιλιππ. β. Diod. Sic. L. 16.

Demoſt. Orat. Ολυνθ. α.

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IT hath been previouſly obſerved, that Amphipolis [172] was one of thoſe cities which ſince the Peloponneſian war had refuſed to recognize the power of the Athenians, and that in aſſerting their pretenſions to it, they had incurred the ſocial war and all its fatal conſequences: with the idea of repoſſeſſing this great city, Philip now ſoothed and cajoled the people of Athens; he promiſed to conquer, and exchange it with them for Pydna, and they rejected the alliance of the Olynthians; himſelf then entered into compact with the Olynthians, and promiſed to them too, Pydna and Potidæa; he inveſted, and took thoſe towns, gave up Pydna to the Olynthians, and retained Potidæa for himſelf: the latter city had an Athenian garriſon, which Philip diſmiſſed with all the honours of war, and ſome how (for it appears not how) found means yet to reconcile the people of Athens to his conduct:—finally, he inveſted Amphipolis, and had the addreſs to perſuade the people, or rather they had the ſtupidity to be perſuaded, that the expences and dangers of this ſiege, were incurred merely on their account, and that the fruits of its ſucceſs were to be theirs: his ſucceſs was almoſt immediate; he garriſoned Amphipolis with Macedonians, and yet again found means to conciliate the aſſembly of Athens; perhaps thoſe means were the gold mines of Crenidæ, which about the ſame time fell into his hands, and which ever after yielded him annually a thouſand talents. His attack at length on the Cherſoneſe admitted not of prevarication; and Chares with a ſmall force was ſent to oppoſe his progreſs in thoſe parts; Cerſobleptes, the rightful ſovereign, had given up his pretenſions thereto in favour of Athens; but Cardia, its capitol, hoiſted on its citadel the enſigns of Philip, who having worſted Argæus, his competitor for the throne of Macedon, and having been victorious in Illyria, in Theſſaly, and in Thrace, doubted not with this footing-place in the Cherſoneſe of ſoon maſtering too the reſt of that peninſula.

Demoſth. Ολυνθ. β.

Diodor. Sic. L. 16.

Ibid.

Φιλιππ. γ. Demoſt. Orat. περι των εν Χερρονησῳ. Diodorus ut ſuprà.

METHONE

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METHONE was beſieged by this enterprizing and politic warriour; Athens debated, and voted aſſiſtance; the time ſpent in debate ſhould have been the hour of action; the aſſiſtance came, but it came too late. Ibid. et Ολυνθ. β.

PAGASÆ was inveſted; again Athens voted ſuccour; and again from its dilatory progreſs, that ſuccour was fruitleſs.

AN account arrived that Heræum, the key to the city of Byzantium, whence their commercial riches, whence their very neceſſaries and proviſions flowed, was attacked and reduced to the laſt extremity; the Athenians in the utmoſt alarm, voted ſubſidy, ordered levies, and—on the news of Philip's falling ſick, countermanded thoſe ſubſidies and thoſe levies, and fell back into their priſtine lethargy. Demoſt. Orat. Ολυνθ. γ. § 1.

HOWEVER flattering the munificence of Philip had been to the Olynthians, that people could not without apprehenſion, behold this growing power, ſtep by ſtep encircling their whole territory; their immunities ſeemed dependant on his generoſity; their very city exiſting but from mere ſufferance: it was deemed fitting in time to ſecure ſome potent and intereſted ally to obviate the danger, which the now conſpicuous ambition of their encroaching neighbour ſeemed to warn them of the approach of: Philip apprized of their policy anticipated the attack by a declaration, "that he would have Olynthus, or loſe Macedon:"—to Athens this people then a ſecond time ſent an embaſſy to proffer their friendſhip, to plead their common intereſts, and rouſe the people to a juſt ſenſe of their own loſſes and future danger: "well (ſaid Demoſthenes) there is no further excuſe for pro- "craſtinating the public weal; long, long have ye murmured, "Oh that the Olynthians were but detached from Philip! the "very event hath occurred; nay, even exceeded your warmeſt "wiſhes; Demoſt. Ολυνθ. α. Ejuſd. Φιλιππ. γ. Paris ed. 1570. Ολυνθ. α. § 9.

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" wiſhes; for had they taken up arms at our inſtigation, they " would have been (they themſelves know it) they would have " been but wavering allies; but ſince it is inveteracy rooted in " their own diſſatisfactions which engages them in this war, " the compact with us will be the more firm, as ſtrengthened " by their own private ſufferings or apprehenſions.—If he ſhall " meet with uninterrupted ſucceſs, what is to prevent his lead- " ing his forces into Greece? the Thebans! pardon the ſeve- " rity of the thought, *they* will rather aſſiſt him: but the " Phocians! a nation, which for its ſecurity, its very exiſtence, " is dependant on your friendſhip and protection. Some other " alliance! or perhaps he will not make the attempt! Oh moſt " abſurd, that the intention, which even in incertitude he ma- " nifeſts, in power he ſhould not execute!"

Olynth. α. § 35.

To alarm the Athenians into an early and expeditious vigilance, with what force doth the orator follow the velocity of their enmies career? " conſider, O Athenians, from what an humble " and inſignificant ſtate Philip hath ariſen to this pitch of " greatneſs! it was firſt ſeizing Amphipolis, afterwards Potidæa " and Methoné; then turning to Theſſaly he over-ran the diſ- " tricts of Phera, of Pagaſæ and Magneſia; thence ruſhing into " Thrace, he ſubverted ſome, he exalted other ſtates; he fell " ſick; ſcarcely convaleſcent, he left not his ſword a moment " to ruſt in cloth, but wielded it againſt the Olynthians: I have " not mentioned his expeditions againſt the Illyrians, the " Pæonians and Arymbæ; aud indeed, where hath he not " eſſayed!"

Ejuſd. §18.19.

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 3. Diodor. Sic. L. 16. Plut. Vit. Phocion.

THIS ſpeech had weight with the aſſembly, and they immediately determined on furniſhing aid to the Olynthians; which, according to the uſual fate of their decrees, was ſent too late for its purpoſe, and Philip got poſſeſſion of the town and levelled its

its walls with the ground: the military levies, however, were not without their uſe; they ſerved to keep up a balance in Eubæa, whither Philip's intrigues had already penetrated; and they retarded the Macedonians entrance into Greece, giving him a timely repulſe at the ſtreights of Thermopylæ: as Demoſthenes was the only ſtateſman, Phocion ſeems to have been the only general, who in theſe times had the virtue and the ability to render his country real ſervice; the eloquence of the one raiſed armies for the other; and to their joint account may be laid the preſervation of Eubæa, as well as the relief of Perinthus and Byzantium, and the few checks which Philip received on the Helleſpont.

I MEAN not in the quotations which I may adduce from the orations of Demoſthenes, to give a juſt idea of the ſpirit and energy of his eloquence, or of the art and cautious ſkill, with which he curbs or directs its ſeemingly wild and impetuous courſe; like an Alexander making docile his fiery Bucephalus: the rhetoric of Demoſthenes, no more than the poetry of Pindar, is to be known from modern tranſlation; but the preſent temper of the people, whoſe genius and hiſtory I inveſtigate, are no where ſo ſtrongly marked, as in the ſpeeches of this orator, and to a further elucidation of this ſubject, I employ the ſubſequent extracts.

THE rich and poorer men of the ſtate may be ſuppoſed combating with all the virulence of arrogance and envy; "I think," ſays Demoſtthenes, "it may be of ſome ſervice to the commu- Φιλιππ. Δ. § 53.
"nity, to plead the cauſe of the wealthier againſt the obloquy
"of the meaner denizons, and reciprocally that of the poorer
"againſt the rich, and explain away theſe idle enmities:" we find the opulent citizens avariciouſly withholding the dues of the commonwealth: "at a time when the annual tributes of the Ejuſd. § 54.
"ſtate

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" ſtate amounted but to one hundred and thirty talents, no one " whoſe income was adequate to the charge, declined the ex- " pence of trierarch [173]; the veſſels were properly fitted out; " the monies paid in; every office diſcharged: enriched as is " now the republic, ſhall we ſit blaming and bickering at one " another, and in our very quarrels ſeek and plead excuſe for " procraſtinating our payments and neglecting our duty?" we then behold the populace rapacious, and enflamed againſt the rich; " the ballance of the commonwealth," continues the orator, " is to be juſtly and equally held; as the wealthier " part of the people contribute much and hazard moſt, in the " exigencies of the ſtate, ſo are they entitled under its ſhelter to " unmoleſted poſſeſſion of their reſidue; and as what juſtly may " be demanded by the community, they have no right to re- " tain; ſo on their remaining property none have a right to " treſpaſs."

vid. & Orat. Iſocrat. περι ανλιδοσεως.

Ibid. Demoſt.

How evident is the degradation of the commonweath! when we hear that, " neither to Menon the Pharſalian, who had given a " voluntary ſubſidy to the ſtate of twelve talents, and had joined " their army with two hundred horſemen; nor even to Perdiccas " the king of Macedon who aided to deſtroy the Perſians at " Platæa, in reward for ſuch generous ſervice did our anceſtors " decree the full rights of citizenſhip; but deemed *them* ſuffi- " ciently honoured, when admitted to a mere freedom of their " city: the name of their then virtuous and enobled country, " they thought a gift tranſcending the moſt exalted merits or ſer- " vices! but *now*, O Athenians, we make citizens of the moſt " abject and profligate, of very ſlaves born in ſervitude, of all " who can buy our franchiſement, put up to ſale, like a mere and " common vendible:" and in another oration, " from the very " meaneſt ſtocks have ſuddenly ariſen men who eclipſe our moſt " renowned and ancient families; they have their houſes that tower

Orat. περι συνλαξεων. § 36.

Ολυνθ. γ. § 40. 1. 2.

" above our public edifices, and the more ruinous the condi- CHAP.
" tion of the republic, the more flouriſhing ſeems theirs! IX.
" Whence comes all this? whence the difference between theſe Olynth. γ.
" times and thoſe of yore? When the citizens in perſon boldly § 40. 1. 2.
" went forth to war, they had a conſequence which rendered
" them lords over their own magiſtracies; what properly *ſhould*
" be, *was* under their controul, and the candidates received all
" office, emolument, and honours at their hand and option:
" *now* the magiſtrates, independant maſters of your wealth and
" power, tranſact all buſineſs as their own; and ye an enervate
" people—crouch to them like ſervants for your pay, and thank
" them, if they allow ye (what is your own) a paltry ſtipend,
" wherewith to baſk it in the theatre!" How pathetically doth
the ſpeaker then remark a declenſion of the grandeur of Athens
concomitant with the degradation its citizens! " a noble harbour, Orat. περι συν-
" temples, edifices, every ornament that could ennoble this city ταξεων, § 46.
" we have, bequeathed to us by our anceſtors, and of a magni-
" ficence which poſterity hath by no means rivalled: look
" yonder at that naval key, that portico, and the ſtructures a-
" round ye! but *then* the private houſes of the moſt illuſtrious
" citizens correſponded with the principle of equality which is
" the boaſt of our conſtitution; let any one find out the houſe of
" Themiſtocles, of Cimon, of Ariſtides, or of Miltiades;—it is
" not a better one than his neighbour's: *now*, we think it enough
" to mend a road, direct a water ſpout, incruſt a wall, or to ef-
" fect ſome equally trivial work;—but from the public pillage,
" many have built them houſes which overtop our nobleſt
" temples."

The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that a luxurious people may be proud, though indolent; and talk highly, though act meanly:—" Whenever (ſays Demoſthenes) your debates com-
" prize thoſe particulars wherein Philip hath infringed his en-

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φιλιππ. β. § 1.

" gagements, I obſerve every oration to appear candid and equit-
" able, every ſpeaker to ſeem ſagacious and pertinent, in pro-
" portion to his allegations and rancour againſt Philip; yet no
" conſequent action, no efficacy marking the propriety of ſuch
" diſcourſe." [174]

THE few ſpirited decrees of the aſſembly, how tardy in execution! (ſays our orator) " if you hear Philip is in the
φιλιππ. α. § 55. " Cherſoneſe, you conſider, and ſend a reinforcement to the
" Cherſoneſe;—is he at Pylæ? why then the army is to be
" ſent to Pylæ; or any where elſe? this way, or that way ye are
" after him, following him as if ye were his mercenaries rather
Ejuſd. Orat. § 16. " than his enemy." " Philip is fallen ſick! or Philip is dead!'
" It would ſignify not, your preſent idleneſs and vices would
" ſoon raiſe another Philip; for it is not from his own intrinſic
" ſtrength and means, but from your ſupineneſs that this man
" is become ſo great."

THOSE who act not when they ought, will of courſe envy the ſucceſs and cry down the merit of thoſe whoſe vigourous and timely exertion brings ſhame on their indolence: this obſervation is verified by the implications contained in the oration defending Diopithes, who had not only protected the Cherſoneſe, but retaliated on the countries belonging to Philip in Thrace, and bordering the Helleſpont: " We neither contribute to the
περι των εν Χερρονησῳ. § 26. " public exigencies, nor enter on military ſervice, nor even ab-
" ſtain from diverting to improper uſes the funds of the re-
" public; but we can abſtain from affording due ſubſidies to
" Diopithes, from the praiſe which his diligence hath merited;
" we can cavil at his exploits and enviouſly blame his paſt, or
" idly ſpeculate on his future conduct."

LIKE

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LIKE an over-heated drunkard, the ſtate was vainglorious and conceited, and to humiliate and bring the people to a proper ſenſe of their perilous ſituation, we obſerve this ſage counſellor in various paſſages, and particularly in the firſt Olynthiac above cited, raiſing their fears and abaſing their arrogance; but the vitiated temper of the people was, as might be pre-conceived, ſubject to viciſſitudes of terror and deſpondency; we find the orator in his ſecond Olynthiac, flattering and conſoling them, depreciating every reſource of Macedon, and every great quality of its king: of all paſt virtues, their repreſentative *pride* was the only relict to which he could make an effectual appeal; his ſpeeches thence teem with references to the exploits of their anceſtry, and with remembrance of their former empire and ſpirit: "Philip (ſays he) will never be ſatisfied with ſubduing, he muſt "deſtroy, he muſt ſubvert the very foundations of this city; "for he knows that ye would not endure a ſtate of ſervitude; or "if ye would, that ye could not; for *ye* have ever been accuſ- "tomed to command." The ſhame too which the Athenians will incur throughout Greece by a dereliction of the general intereſts together with their own, is painted in the moſt animated colours: nor this, nor every other argument, nor the remonſtrances he made uſe of, nor even a recapitulation of the juſtice of his paſt reaſoning and predictions, could recover the aſſembly from its blindneſs, its indolence, its avarice, and its general depravity.

Ολυνθ. α.

φιλιππ. γ. &c. ſparſim.

περι των εν Χερρονησῳ. § 81.

Ejuſd. Orat. § 62.

περι Ειρηνης. § 5. et ſeq.

THE above tranſlations from Demoſthenes I have adduced to further prepare the reader, for the ſubverſion of all that has rendered the hiſtory of this republic ſo intereſting to our notice; its extenſive power and internal conſtitution: from the reproofs of their ſage and good adviſer, diſcovering the ruinous habits and temper of this great corrupted nation; with pride to deprecate ſhame, and without virtue to avoid it; often elated without rea-

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ſon, and deſpondent with as little cauſe; luxurious and magnificent in their private, and mean in their public capacity; at variance for trifles with one another, and paſſively ſubmitting to every foreign tranſgreſſion; bold in their decrees, and dilatory in action; vainly glorious of the fame of their anceſtry, and neglectful of their own; and envious even of the virtue that ſerved them, as affording too ſtriking a contraſt with their own demerits.

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OF CERTAIN DUTIES OF A CITIZEN——OF THE HOLY WAR ——OF THE TEMPORIZING CONDUCT OF THE ATHENIANS ——RESULT THEREOF——THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA, AND SUPREMACY OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

IN a private ſituation, an ignorance, in ſome meaſure, of the ſchemes and machinations employed by men to gratify their appetites at the expence of their fellow-creatures, is aſſuredly preferable to an *over-accurate* inveſtigation of human morals; a too near acquaintance with which, can ſerve but to cloud the ſeaſon of ſociety, and alloy the chearfulneſs of hoſpitality with mental reſervation: in the narrow circle, deceit may have too little opportunity or too little effect, for the evil conſequences thereof to balance the evil conſequences of continually preparing againſt them,—the loſs of internal peace of mind, and of good-will towards man. As far then as relates to the more partial intercourſe of ſociety, it is not only allowable but praiſeworthy, for an individual not to embitter his mind by a too nice reſearch into the motives of human words and actions; which, as it convinces him of the depravity of others, is likely to render him too ſomewhat depraved; or, at beſt, to depreciate, with the merits of his aſſociates, the happineſs of his life.

THUS as a moral being he may be permitted, I think, in a certain degree, to forego enquiry into the craftyhood and wiles around him; but as a being, making part of a ſtate or civil ſociety, he ſhould be well apprized of the ſnares that lay in wait for

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for him *as ſuch:* his own independant welfare and peace, which in the prior caſe bore ſome weight of argument, become of little conſideration: and he is under indiſpenſable obligation, to acquire all ſuch knowledge as may be within his reach, and as may be neceſſary to the making him a good and ſerviceable citizen: The characters of public men it is his duty to ſcan freely, and with all ſuch helps as thought, experience, and the diſcriminating ſenſe of others too, may furniſh him with, to obviate the general evils, which a ſhare of blindneſs or error on his part might conduce to the admiſſion of. At all times, and particularly at times, when his property is ſecure, and his perſon ſafe, he ſhould be taught to guard againſt thoſe who diſſeminate abſtract notions, the adoption of which cannot make his property more ſecure, or his perſon more ſafe and free; and if his rights and immunities as a citizen, appear from plain fact, and to plain underſtanding invaded or infringed, ſtill let him not follow thoſe who ſeek unknown remedies in the contingencies of revolution, but let him join with thoſe of moderate temper, and of definite purpoſe, and whoſe paſt demeanor is conſiſtent with the part of public virtue they aſſume: when the pretenſions of regard to national freedom and rights tranſcend the character of him who pretends to it, and even paſs the natural feelings of men,—let him heſitate, ere he liſts under one who thus overacts his part; in the aſſertor of freedom, let him ſift out the miniſter of faction; let him read and think of how many tyrants have gained a firſt footing on the necks of the people by bellowing for liberty! how many have clamoured for freedom, and overturned the freeſt of conſtitutions! how often patriotiſm hath been but a name! When religion is the plea, greater caution even is required on the part of each conſtituent of the ſtate, whilſt the deluded fanatic is an equally dangerous abettor of innovation, with the wily hypocrite; their connection is the moſt dangerous! let the good citizen learn to know and to avoid ſuch

party; and diſcriminating the follies which excite, and the artifices which occaſionally follow, or take the lead,—let him in the ſpirit of conciliation and tolerance join to controul the enthuſiaſt, and let him with vigilance and firmneſs reſiſt the combining holy prejudices with worldly policy, to form a jointed baſis for commotion; let him obviate it as circumſtances, and his ability ſhall permit, conſidering what ravages have been committed in the fury, and under the maſk too of piety; and obſerving from the annals of mankind, that zealotiſm is no ſign but of madneſs, proteſtation no proof of holy fervour, and grimace no part of religion; and having often in view the maſſacres which ſuperſtition hath occaſioned, and the deſolation which ambition hath perpetrated under the cloak of ſanctity! So far the ſtudy of mankind is the duty of each member of the ſtate, who for the ſecurity, and many other bleſſings he enjoys under the ſhelter of government, owes his mite towards the obviating every evil which may tend to the ſubverſion or annoyance of the ſocial eſtabliſhment which protects him. CHAP. X.

RETURNING to the hiſtory of Greece as complicated with that of Athens, we are now to have in view a *holy war* made acceſſary to the ſchemes of ambition; from zeal and ſuperſtition in the *ſubordinate parties*, made horridly deſtructive to private perſons and property; from a crafty ſimulation of piety in the *principal party*, turned to a ſelfiſh account, and made ruinous to the rights and liberties of a whole country.

THE ſucceſs of arms gave to each ſtate, with acceſſion of territory, new conſequence and aſcendancy in the common aſſembly of Greece, called the Amphyctionic council; and that ſuperior intereſt therein (as well may be imagined of a people degenerate from the juſtice and patriot-virtues of their anceſtors) was

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was often employed to ſelfiſh ends; to ſerve the purpoſes of ambition, or heats of national animoſity.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Juſtin. L. 8. C. 1.

THE Thebans from their late courſe of conqueſt under Pelopidas and Epaminondas, had acquired a weight ſufficient to influence the majority of votes, and in the ſpirit of revenge they turned the tide of power on their ancient foes, the Spartans and the Phocians: they managed on a frivolous pretence, to procure the paſſing of a decree, which impoſed ſo heavy a fine, that the reſpective funds of thoſe ſtates were inadequate to the diſcharge of it, and thereby they were driven to the odious neceſſity of warring with the preſcriptive ſupremacy of the great Grecian council. Phocis, from ſituation lay readieſt for attack, and from national weakneſs was hopeleſs of defence; its General, Philomelus, conſcious of the poor reſources, whether of men or of monies that his country poſſeſſed, to ſupply the deficiency called in an army of mercenaries, and to have wherewithal to pay and ſupport them, deſperately laid hands on the treaſures of the Delphic temple, the care and prieſthood of which were entruſted to the Phocians. The nature of the conteſt was now changed, and the name of rebellion (hateful enough in itſelf) was branded with the epithets of ſacrilegious and profane.

Pauſan. in Phocic. Strabo. L. 9.

HUMAN nature under a ſimilarity of circumſtances, hath been every where and in every age the ſame; the horrors of the ſacred war in Greece may be depicted with the like colouring, as the vehement and bloody conteſts, with which the holy madneſs of zeal, and vanities of hereſy, have from time to time ſtained the æra of the moſt merciful of religions.

THE mind deeply employed on what it never can attain, and deeply intereſted in what it never can be aſſured of, recurs for

aſſiſtance to the univerſality of opinion, which, in proportion to its extent gives comfort and hope to thoſe who unwilling to doubt, and unable to believe, reſt their ſecurity on the belief of others: when any portion of this univerſality is withdrawn, it muſt affect each party to the communion, on the totality of which reſts the ſtrength of good faith, whence each individual mind draws its conſolatory peace: in itſelf the mind hath found no certitude, in general acquieſcence it hath preſumed one; and a privation of that proof (viſionary as it is) of what it hath been taught to wiſh, and thence to imagine, threatens it with a ſtate of doubt, horror, and deſpondency; which to avoid, it fancies itſelf into enthuſiaſm, or deviates into idle ſuperſtitions, and at any rate rages againſt all, who ſubtracting their authority, have diminiſhed its original reſources, and have driven it to phrenzy and diſcontent. This religious fury once awakened, deprives the ſoul of all happineſs, but in its madneſs; to think, were to diſpel that *particular* prophetic dream of life, which habit and hope have made ſo neceſſary; and to this the zealot prefers his delirium, fights blindfold, and tilts at all, who, the bandage from their eyes, are victims to the rage they vainly ſeek to calm, inſtead of to oppoſe. Religious fury, as it is cruel, ſo is it implacable; whilſt it knows not remorſe, or miſtaking the workings of conſcience, blindly ſeeks peace in the reiterated perpetration of the very crimes, which imperceptibly have been the ruin of it!

THE very numerous examples of the inveteracy attending religious diſſentions, have been many too recent, and all, much too frequent to render a detail of its ſpirit of maſſacre and perſecution any longer neceſſary: what Demoſthenes ſays of the country of Phocis is an account ſince recapitulated again and again under other names; ſays he, "going to Delphos our eyes are "ſtruck on every ſide with ruins of buildings, and marks of de-

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"solation, a country depopulated, no young men to be seen, "but a few women and boys, and some few aged and miser- "able fathers." Thus dismissing particular and odious characteristics of every contest in which superstition bears a part, I proceed to the general history and public consequences of the Phocian holy war.

Demost. Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας.

THE Athenians ever jealous of each state which arrogated that supremacy in Greece, which they had some time born and still pretended to, were dissentient on the great question in the Amphyctionic council carried by Thebes against Phocis and Sparta: at first they assisted the Phocians secretly; but the Thebans being worsted in almost every engagement, by the great armies of mercenaries, which the pillage of the Delphic temple brought together, they ventured to take a more decisive part, and sent five thousand heavy armed foot and four hundred horse to join the Phocians. The affairs of Thebes now seemed desperate, and but for a particular fortune of war, success might have quickly construed rapine and sacrilege into necessity, have traced the efficient cause to the Amphyctionic decree, that decree to the interference of Thebes, and thus the odium have recoiled from those immediately guilty, on the heads of those who afforded occasion of the guilt; for in contests of this nature the rights of persecution ever shift their ground from the conquered to the conquerors. The Thebans applied to Philip; thrice, says Justin, the Athenians had bought off the interference of that prince; but now an event occurring which obviated their application in common with the Phocians, they left the Phocians in the lurch, and negociated a separate peace for themselves. Such at Athens was the dread of this aspiring monarch that this treaty was spun out; and whilst their allies were pursued with fire and sword, the Athenian assembly re-echoed with commiseration of the Phocians, and with invectives against Philp, but the Athenian armies remained

Diodor. Sic. L. 16.

Justin. L. 8. C. 4.

Demost. Orat. περὶ Εἰρήνης.

remained idle, and ſucceſſive embaſſies went to Pella and to the Macedonian camp. CHAP. X.

THE ambitious Philip (as to every other territory in his neighbourhood) had made pretenſions to Theſſaly; but Lycophron ſtill diſputed thoſe pretenſions, and having acquaintance with the Phocian Onomarchus who had ſucceeded Philomelus in command, he proffered him a reinforcement of Theſſalian horſe, provided that he would in return aid him with his mercenaries, if attacked by the Macedonian. The enterprizing activity of Philip ſoon brought on the expected exigency, and Onomarchus ſucceſsfully ſupported the cauſe of Lycophron, and drove his rival from the field: Philip, with a quick eye, ſaw the advantage that might be taken of this defeat; hitherto the nature of his quarrel with Lycophron had born the aſpect of uſurpation, but his enemy connected with the Phocians, was now ſtained with ſome tincture of their cauſe, and might juſtly be purſued with all the rancour of piety: taking the part of the Amphyctions he was at the ſame time conquering his rival, gaining an eſtabliſhment in Greece, and a ſuperior intereſt in its determinations and councils. With alacrity therefore he prepared to change the ſeat of war, forwarded new levies to the field, and attacked the Phocian army, his ſoldiers hymning the name, and wearing each a laurel ſprig in honour, of the Delphic Apollo: Philip gaining an eaſy victory, ſent to Thebes to demand the pleaſure of that ſtate relative to the treatment of his priſoners, the puniſhment of whom he left to Them, as avengers of the profane and ſacrilegious depredations on the moſt holy of temples: the Thebans flattered by this condeſcenſion, and elated with the hopes of further advantage from the alliance of ſo powerful a prince, blindly entered into his views by an impolitic ſolicitation of his ſuſtaining the cauſe he had ſo glorioufly undertaken.

Juſtin. et Diodor. ubi ſuprà.

Pauſan. in Phocicis.

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IT was at this time, and during theſe tranſactions, that the aſſembly of Athens was haranguing ſo haughtily, and deciding ſo remiſsly on the ſeveral enterprizes of Philip: in truth, beſides the indolent and laſcivious temper of the times, much concurred to flatter or to argue the Athenians into an idleneſs of oppoſition, that bore almoſt the mien of neutrality.

ARISTODEMUS and Neoptolemus ſent to pry into the real deſigns of Philip, were received with the moſt generous affability, and returned to plead the cauſe of their benefactor: theſe men belonged to the theatre, but the reader muſt not ſuppoſe, that this their profeſſion any ways affected the dignity of their miſſion, or authority of their report; Livy ſpeaking of the public merits of the actor Ariſto, ſays "*nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pu-*" *dori eſt, ea deformabat:*" two likewiſe of the moſt noble of the citizens, Phrynon, and Cteſiphon, having viſited the court of Pella on their own private concerns, came from Macedon with much proof of the munificence, and of courſe with many tales of the juſtice and goodneſs of the king; and Phocion at the head of the moſt virtuous and independant party of the ſtate, deemed it in this degenerate age moſt expedient to temporize, and not to expoſe his country to a conteſt, which the corruption and vices of its conſtituents rendered it moſt inadequate to. When we are told that ſixty of the prime [175] citizens (like Boccacio's mirthful ſeceſſion from the plague of Florence) had totally withdrawn from the aſſembly of the commonwealth, and had formed a ſociety of wit and merriment, the chief rule of which was never to think of what concerned the ſtate;—when we are told that ſuch an aſſociation *was*,—was *known*, and was *permitted*, we muſt agree with Phocion and other good and free citizens, that to be ſo by ſufferance was their beſt, and indeed only hope: they uſed the ſame addreſs to conciliate Philip, as Philip to deceive them; in this very momentous criſis they ſtill had an eye to the confirmation

Demoſt. Orat. et etiam Æſchinis, περὶ παραπρεσβειας.

Plut. Vit. Phocion.

Athenæ Deipnoſoph. L. 14. p. 614.

Ælian. var. Hiſt. L. 1. C. 25.

Plut. Vit. Phocion.

tion of peace, and when the more ſpirited, or leſs conſiderate patriots were bellowing for war, they pleaded for temporizing meaſures; they reprobated theſe too great ſticklers for old virtues, and old manners perhaps with reaſon; Cicero was right when he ſaid of Cato "*nocet interdum reipublicæ, dicens, tanquam in Platonis* Πολιτειᾳ, *non tanquam in Romuli fæce, ſententiam.*" This moderate party once again prevailed with the aſſembly to poſtpone all hoſtile preparations, and to depute a more reſpectable embaſſy of ten of the principal men of the ſtate, to demand a categorical anſwer from Philip, and to get a clear view into his deſigns, and into the ſtrength of his kingdom: what is wiſhed, is readily believed; and Philip deſirous of not embroiling himſelf too prematurely with a republic, yet moſt populous and wealthy, took advantage of their deſires of [176] peace, to deceive the people into a ſecurity of it, by the moſt ſpecious language and moſt ingratiating behaviour to their ambaſſadors: theſe ten men were of the beſt families, or otherwiſe of the firſt repute in Athens, all of much aſcendancy, and all of different characters;—for the courteous, he had affability; for the proud, honourable attention; money for the avaricious, and liberality for all;—another, and another embaſſy ſucceeded, from which the delegates returned, or deceived themſelves, or to deceive their countrymen, and to accuſe and bicker with one another.

Ep. ad attic. L. 2. Ep. 1.

Diodor. Sic. L. 16.

Orationes Demoſth. et Æſchinis, περὶ παραπρεσβειας.

THESE miniſtries, during which ſomething like a peace was botched up, ſerved but to give Philip time to proceed on his great deſign, and to feed the flames of diſſention and animoſity which long had waſted the ſtrength of Athens: however the protracted negociation diverted, or the final compact reſtricted the meaſures of the republic, they were no bar to the progreſs of its inſidious enemy: having liſtened to the ſolicitation of the Thebans, having joined forces with them on the confines of Phocis, obliged its inhabitants to a diſcretionary ſurrender, maſſacred or enſlaved

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 4.

Diodor. Sic. L. 16. § 31. Pauſan. in Phocic.

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enſlaved the people, burnt or diſmantled the towns, and having in reward for theſe ſervices under the Amphyctionic banner gained a ſeat in its councils, Philip was preparing to turn all theſe events to account, and on this footing-place to fix the machine that was to ſhake the univerſe, to maſter Greece, and with Greece to conquer Aſia!

Iſocrat. ep. ad Philipp.

Orat. περὶ Εἰρήνης.

DEMOSTHENES now once again attempted to awaken his fellow-citizens to an apprehenſion of the ſchemes of Philip; and Athens ſent forth her army of mercenaries, and ſent forth her miniſters too to the different ſtates of Greece; but the Locrians now falling under ſimilar imputation as heretofore the Phocians, the Greeks, as if rivals for ſervitude, with the ſame heat they had been emulous of empire, engaged Philip to ſet forth at the head of the Amphyctionic army to chaſtiſe the delinquents: thus theſe exertions of Athens as late were fruitleſs, for Philip now by invitation marched into Greece, and with great ſhow of veneration and piety accepted the command, whilſt favouring oracles daily proceeded from the venal tripod, as texts for each traiterous demagogue to deſcant on, and blind the eaſy ſuperſtitious citizens: too ſoon and moſt fatally they were undeceived, when Philip at the head of a mighty army, inſtead of employing it to the religious purpoſe for which he had been permitted, without oppoſition, to penetrate thus far, ſuddenly turned, ſurprized, fortified, and garriſoned Elatea, a city lying between, and commanding, the territories, on one ſide of Thebes, on the other of Athens. Neceſſity now held the place of virtue; the people were for a moment frightened out of their vices and indolence, and haſtily paſſed a decree, that teemed with the ſpirit of their ancient vigour and conſtitution: a manifeſto was expedited to the chief ſtates of Greece; and a choſen embaſſy, in which Demoſthenes took a part, was ſent to plead their common cauſe with Thebes; in vain Philip employed every artifice to

Demoſt. Orat. ὑπὲρ κτεσιφῶντ. etiam Æſchinis.

Strabo. L. 9.

Demoſt. Orat. ὑπὲρ κτεσιφῶντ.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Plut. Vit. Demoſth.

prevent the union of theſe ſtates; the allied armies of the Thebans and the Athenians joined to defend the liberties of their common country.

THE battle of Chæronea [177] quickly decided the conteſt; and Greece, whoſe age of heroiſm hath been the favourite of poetry, whoſe mature and patriotic vigour exerted againſt the Perſian was the ornament of eloquence, whoſe ſtruggles in, and convaleſcence from, inteſtine commotion, have been the pride of hiſtory,—loſing its ſpirit, its freedom, and its policy, was ſunk beneath the arms or intrigues of an ambitious king, and left indebted for its every privilege to his good-will and ſufferance.

Pauſan. in Att. Juſtin. L. 9. C. 3.

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OF DEMAGOGUES—OF DEMOSTHENES—PARALLEL OF THE ELOQUENCE OF DEMOSTHENES AND OF CICERO.

IT may generally be ſaid [178] of every ſtate, that its decline from liberty and power, is the immediate conſequence of a change of that conduct which eſtabliſhed its freedom, and which raiſed it to dominion.

THE vigour of a patriotic government, ſucceeded by the temporizing policy of a ſelfiſh adminiſtration; the ſpirit of a virtuous and united people, yielding to the purſuit of partial and divided intereſts; good laws exchanged for bad; a diſregard of all laws ſubſtituted for univerſal obedience, and (in a word) private views ſubſtituted for public views, account readily for a reverſe of fortunes, in a degree proportionate to each revolution of morals and of inſtitution.

To mark out the progreſs of corruption as to manners, and as to the conduct of public affairs, and to note the concomitant ſymptoms of decline affecting the conſtitution of the commonwealth, and its force and its empire, hath been the ſcope of this work; yet it hath moreover ſuited the purpoſe of political enquiry, at particular and important epochs, from theſe general topics, to ſift out the detail that more immediately applies to the event in hand, to forego awhile the broader maſs of ſubject, and call the attention excluſively to ſuch part, as ſeems more eſpecially in contact with ſome point in queſtion.

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THE ſubject of demagogues is no inapplicable appendix to the ſucceſſes of Philip; nor is it partial, or unintereſting: how many free ſtates beſides that of Athens, how many glorying in the ſtrength of opulence, of people, of navy, and of empire, have been betrayed by popular leaders, and have loſt the benefit of each reſource, diſſipated in peculation, divided through faction, loſt through preſumption, and ſurrendered through treaſons!—How many free ſtates ſhall be added to the example, and evince the incompetency of political leſſons, to obviate the evils ariſing from an influence which nature hath implanted and made ſupreme,—*the influence of ſtronger minds over weaker minds!* Happy is the age and country, when ſuch pre-eminence is under the ſelf-controul which virtue and moderation can alone impoſe!

SAYS Ariſtotle, "moſt [179] of the ancient deſpots or kings "became ſuch from demagogues; the cauſe that this occurred "ſo often then, and ſo rarely now, is, that of old the popular "and the military leader were one, and depended not on oratory "but arms; now oratory being in vogue, mere orators are our "demagogues, and from incapacity for war attempt not open "uſurpation."—Many gradations in the character of demagogue fill up the interval from that diſtant æra, when ſimple attack and defence conſtituted the whole ſyſtem of external policy, and when accordingly the people's deference was paid alone to thoſe poſſeſſed of acuteneſs and valour in the field of battle, down to the age of ſtate-intrigue and of eloquence which Ariſtotle alludes to. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 5. C. 5.

THE love of patronage and of pre-heminence ever have incited, and ever will incite men to ſeek political conſequence and authority; and both the means of acquiring, and the mode of exerciſing power, are ever adapted to the proportion of virtue and

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underſtanding in thoſe who are to beſtow or to confirm it: the qualities of a governor mold eaſily to the ſyſtem of government, and to the temper of the governed; and theſe prototypes generally may be eſtimated by the practices and conduct they have given riſe to, in the different times, and in the different claſſes of popular favourites and miniſters: it is a misfortune to humanity, that the exceptions to this analogy of qualities in the elect and in the elected, are little favourable to the ſide of public virtue; a good man elevated by a vicious people, at periods when a ſenſe of exigency or diſtreſs hath ſuperſeded ordinary partialities, hath rarely retained his power for any time, beſet as he is on all ſides, by the artifice and calumnies of thoſe, who better know how to awaken and attach the prejudices of a depraved nation: but a bad man, having gained the place of authority through deceptions practiſed on good and eaſy men, may long remain in office through the ſame arts as placed him there; and what is worſt, in the permanency of power, "may attain that ſecurity by corrupting the "people, which he hath forfeited by diſhonouring the govern-"ment:" his work is thus doubly nefarious, whilſt he poiſons the remedy to the very ills and afflictions he has been the occaſion of; and it remains a doubtful poſition, if the means of ſupporting the worſe man, or of depreſſing the better character, are the more ruinous to a free country.

vid. Dedication of the Eſſay on Parties.

A SHORT review of popular favouritiſm in Athens will give force to theſe reflections, and will properly too attach with the previous obſervation of Ariſtotle.

ON the demiſe of the Piſiſtratidæ, and eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth of Solon, the equality as likewiſe the pretenſions of men were too general to admit of much deference towards any individual citizen from the ſtate at large: the conduct of Cliſthenes at home, and of Miltiades in the Cherſoneſe and in Ionia,

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as well as at Marathon, ſeem adapted to conciliate a people enamoured of liberties newly recovered from domeſtic uſurpation, and bravely ſuſtained againſt a foreign enemy: yet Cliſthenes was baniſhed by the popular judicature himſelf had eſtabliſhed, and Miltiades was condemned to a fine, and both rather from apprehenſions of undue aſcendancy, than from the idea of guilt: under ſimilar impreſſions, the people were niggard of honours and reward; "ſays Æſchines [180], let Demoſthenes ſhow if "any decree is extant by which ſuch men as Miltiades and "Themiſtocles were honoured with a chaplet; he cannot; were "the people then ungrateful to merit? no: but they were too "elate with the general ſentiment of conſcious virtue, to admit "of ſuch diſtinctions to that of *any one*."

Æſchin. Orat. contra Cteſiphont.

THE genuine ſimplicity of republican virtue, and of the conſtitution of the commonwealth, gave way to the demagogues who followed.

THE people from the courſe of the ſecond Perſian war had derived or aſſumed pretenſions to greater equality within the ſtate; their rivalſhip with Sparta had broken out from the emulation, and from the enmities which occurred from a claſhing of the general, and of the ſeparate intereſts in the common cauſe; and the views of conqueſt followed quickly on the command with which the confederate Greeks had veſted the Athenian General ſoon after the battle of Platæa: the ſuitors for public favour coincided with the humour of the day,—they availed themſelves of each circumſtance to conciliate the aſſembly, and molded their practice to the contingency of affairs, and to the views of the people:—Cimon extended their empire of the ſeas; Themiſtocles fortified their city in deſpight of Sparta; and Ariſtides moved the decree for new rights and privileges to the commonalty: thus ambitious and artful policy as to foreign powers,

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and the turbulency of democratic freedom within the pale of the republic, originated in, or were ſtrengthened by the coincidence of qualities and of enterprize on the part of particular men, with the temper of the times, and with the revolution of ſtate.

YET hitherto, if I may ſo expreſs it, the people belonged not to the demagogues, but the demagogues to the people: they were ſervants choſen with nice diſcrimination of merit, but when preſuming too far on that merit, were diſmiſſed the ſervice from a ſenſe of the dangers of influence, a ſenſe of union ſuperiour to to all diſtinctions, and a feeling for the public weal above all private conſiderations.

THE effect of conqueſts was the ſoon introducing private conſiderations founded in the diſtinctions of poverty and wealth, reſulting from the various fortunes of war; the effect of admitting the people to a greater ſhare in the government, at the ſame criſis militated the influence of this wealth; the poverty and power of the people for a time reſiſted, at leaſt the grafting thereon political diſtinctions, and the ſtate was divided, into a party for the commonwealth, and partizans of the noble and opulent: the commonwealth's men gained the victory; the cauſe of the ariſtocracy was loſt in the baniſhment of Thucydides, and the people ſeated their demagogue Pericles at the helm of government. Apprehenſive of the machinations of thoſe in oppoſition to him, Pericles inſtituted the retaining popular partizans, and had his Ephialtes and other ſubordinate demagogues to ſuſtain the cry of liberty and independancy, till through the vices, and corruption ſown during his long adminiſtration, the ſubject fell into diſrepute, and he no longer found it neceſſary to harangue, on patriotiſm and public rights; or even to convene an aſſembly of the people, but ruled without them. Another Pericles would have been a ſucceſſor, immediately fatal to the conſtitution

ſtitution of Athens: the effect of *his* miniſtry was the fitting out new candidates for power, introducing new means of acquiring it, and preparing the people for admitting it. The management and eloquence of Pericles begat an hundred intriguers and an hundred orators, who tutored by him in the ſchool of political altercation, (for the powers of attack ever produce thoſe of defence) ſtarted up on his demiſe to plead for influence in the ſtate, and practice on their own account the policy and language, they had heretofore uſed in ſubſerviency to, or in oppoſition of, the power of Pericles: the vulgar Cleon and the accompliſhed Alcibiades had ſucceſſively the ear of the aſſembly, broken into an hundred parties by its hundred orators;—and from this growth and prevalence of oratory we may date the fluctuation of power and meaſures, which weakened the government, and facilitated the conqueſts of Lyſander.

From the intrigues of thoſe who ſucceeded to Pericles a circumſtance accrued, which not only had an immediate effect on the adminiſtration of thoſe times, but which ſeemed calculated to perpetuate the evils of diſſention, of undue influence, and all others which political altercation and the ambition of individuals might (if not reſtrained) be ſuppoſed to create, in a popular government, ſuch as was that of Athens. Nicias and Alcibiades however diſſentient in other reſpects, joined their intereſts and parties to preclude the oſtraciſm falling, as might happen, on either; and further to divert the popular diſſatisfactions ariſing from the calamities of the times, employed their reſpective partizans to procure that honourable exile to be adjudged to one Hyperbolus; a man of the loweſt extraction and of manners and character ſo conformable, that his name was even proverbial for meanneſs and infamy: the influence of theſe great men effected their purpoſe; but the oſtraciſm thenceforward was conſidered as diſgraced and polluted; and the people, in diſguſt at having been induced to employ

Plut. Vit. Ariſtid.

Ælian. L. 12. C. 43. Schol. ad Athenæum. L. 12. p. 538.

Ariſt. Comœd. Ranæ. et al.

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employ it to ſuch purpoſe, for ever rejected its further uſe; Plutarch ſays, "aboliſhed it;"—but had ſuch decree ever paſſed, it was too eſſential an alteration in the conſtitution, not to have been noticed by the orators, and hiſtorians too: thus was this admirable inſtitution loſt; thus was the great reſtraint on ambition, on intrigue, on faction, for ever gone; and thus were future demagogues to be in the full right and poſſeſſion of every means of competition, however dangerous to the conſtitution of ſtate;—thus were diſſention and altercation to have no termination, 'till that of the very liberties of the republic; and thus were the demagogues under the influence of Philip empowered fearleſsly to undermine thoſe liberties!

On the reſtoration of the commonwealth, military men were chiefly looked to, by a people who had their empire to recover, as well as their liberties to maintain: Thraſybulus, Conon, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates were mere generals, unleſs from a paſſage of Demoſthenes, Timotheus may be preſumed to have been an orator; that Chares was an orator as well as general, we have the authority of Plutarch for, and in the ſocial war, it has been obſerved that Chares had the influence to diſgrace both Timotheus and Iphicrates. Thus quickly, when the fears of men ſubſided, eloquence regained its aſcendancy: that it ſhould do ſo, is eaſy to account for; to argue with men, flatters their underſtandings; to ſooth, beſpeaks their power; to explain and to account for things, intimates a reſponſibility to them; and the choice of ſubject lays a thouſand more roads open to the vanities and to the ſelf-gratifications of the audience: to this, it ſhould be added that the ſpeaker is ordinarily of ſuperior abilities, and that in debating to the judgment of a popular aſſembly, the moſt captivating adulation hath effect, that of placing the abilities of the hearers in competition with, or even above, thoſe of the admired ſpeaker: it was hence that Livy had

Demoſt. Orat. περι των εν Χερρονησω. ſub. fin.

Plut. Vit. Phocion.

had occaſion to ſay, *nec unquàm ibi deſunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam, quod genus in omnibus liberis civitatibus tum præcipuè Athenis, ubi oratio plurimùm pollet, favore multitudinis alitur.* Whether the miſchiefs or the benefits ariſing from popular harangues have been the moſt frequent, complicate the queſtion of uſe and abuſe of eloquence with the circumſtances, and with the characteriſtics of the people it is addreſſed too; and conſidering it in this general view, I venture to aſſert, that centuple evils, for a ſingle public advantage, have enſued declamations addreſſed to a popular audience.

T. Livii. Hiſt. L. 31.

In times of private and of public virtue (which I think no ways ſeparable) plain language is ſuited to plain truths, and to propoſe and elucidate a fair and open plan of adminiſtration, requires few words to make it acceptable to thoſe, who have no views but to the common welfare: how far in times of general corruption, the eloquence of a good man may ſucceed in recommending juſt and honourable meaſures to a vicious people needs little inveſtigation; Cato (as appears from a letter of Cicero) was wont to ſpeak a whole day, and to little purpoſe; and even the Philippics of Cicero effected as little in *fæce Romuli*, as thoſe of Demoſthenes *in fæce Solonis*. The great Roman allows *antequàm delectata eſt Athenienſium civitas hâc laude dicendi, multa jam memorabilia, et in domeſticis et in bellicis rebus effecerat:* I will add to the obſervation, that after the charms of oratory had their full force, the Athenians effected nothing great or praiſe-worthy, within their own republic, or in reſpect to foreign powers.

Cicer. in Bruto.

It remains to explain that popular eloquence is the ſource of the greateſt evils: it is in itſelf an art that never hath reached perfection, but when other elegant arts, with their luxuries and with their vices, have paved the way for a taſte adapted to its refinements;

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refinements; it is *then* the proper ſervant of intrigue and of corruption, for it is ſuited to varniſh over crimes, to obſcure or to pervert the conduct of virtuous opponents, to ſubſtitute perſuaſion for conviction, and gloſſing over private views with a falſe colour of public intereſts, to make men loſe ſight of the way back from their ſtate of depravity and ruin.

BOLINGBROKE in his letter on patriotiſm hath obſerved, that Demoſthenes was a ſtateſman, and that an orator muſt neceſſarily be ſo: I ſhould ſcarcely have thought it neceſſary to enforce the poſition, had not the elegant and learned writer of the life of Philip ſtept forward to controvert the allegation: I think Bolingbroke had read very little of Demoſthenes, and ſtudied as little the hiſtory of thoſe times, when he adduced the inſtance of his Theban embaſſy; he thereby gave an advantage of criticiſm to his learned opponent: but as to fact, in a ſtate ſo converſant with public buſineſs as that of Athens (the authority of Photius, and *the action*, and *action*, and *action* of Demoſthenes apart) the orator muſt have had matter as well as manner; he muſt have had political knowledge as well as words; but it were puerile to dwell on the refutation of a contrary tenet, whilſt the orations of Demoſthenes are before us!—is there a fact in the hiſtory of thoſe times that eſcapes him, or, *that hath not ſupplied authorities for the life of Philip?* Is there a deduction from thoſe facts that doth not denote his knowledge of buſineſs, and political acuteneſs? doth not each ſpeech teem with reference to the laws of his country, to public letters, to embaſſies, and other documents of ſtate? doth not every oration ſtand in example (as Bolingbroke adduced it) againſt the frivolous pretenſions of thoſe, *who ſeek to be public ſpeakers, without the knowledge of public buſineſs?*

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THE opponents of Demoſthenes had not the full powers of *his* eloquence, but they blended their Eloquence with the proper coadjutors, intrigue and corruption, and with theſe aſſiſtants traverſed his patriotic deſigns.

As eloquence is ſuited to the covering or protecting crimes, ſo is it friendly to a connection with them; ſophiſtry may explain away *too nice* diſtinctions of virtue and vice, or may with ſucceſs turn to ridicule *cynic morality*, or, in an age and country wherein wealth and vanity have any concern, may ſurely, at leaſt, make bribery palatable by liberal expreſſions, and by the mode of giving, and by the words with which the gift is accompanied: he is a poor maſter of ſubornation in a public cauſe, who knows not how to find largeſſes for the virtuous even, *who are vain*, as well as for the minions of avarice:—Philip during a converſation at table gave Satyrus two female ſlaves, whom that Athenian had mentioned in terms of commiſeration, as expoſed from their beauty to the brutality of a maſter, and to the loſs of virtue and liberal ſentiments their education had implanted; Satyrus received the preſent, honourably endowed the virgins in marriage, and was ever after a friend to Philip. Diodor. Sic. L. 16.

GOLD indeed was the ordinary medium of the king's ſolicitations:—on the height of the walls of Amphipolis being remarked, [181] "Gold (ſaid he) I think might be thrown over them;" and with gold he ſupplied his Athenian opponents to Demoſthenes, "yet (ſays Diodorus) never degrading thoſe who received his pay, but ever terming them his dear friends and intimates, thus affixing honour to corruption, and obliterating all diſtinctions among men:" Æſchines, Philocrates, and others doubtleſsly made good uſe of the means, which Philip ſupplied them with, and taught others to *Philippize* as well as the oracle; but even independant of theſe means, perhaps their Diodor. Sic. Lib. 16. § 54. Ibid.

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very inferiority to Demoſthenes in ſome reſpects was an additional cauſe of their ſucceſs with the people: the expanſive and intuitive genius of the great heaven-born ſtateſman is only in difficult times, and not often in any times, permitted to exert its pretenſions to rule and influence: his capacity is more commonly the object of admiration than of confidence; and his want of attention to the little concerns which engage ordinary minds, is not readily excuſed by the generality who would give conſequence to the objects of their own pride and occupation: on the other hand, temporizing politicians ſuit a popular aſſembly become ſelfiſh, fickle, and indolent, and on each conſideration of ſtate buſineſs weighing immediate eaſe and gratification, againſt public intereſts, and the dangers of enterprize: theſe men pleaſe them by not ſeeming to involve them in any affairs of imminent criſis; they reſtrict policy to the buſineſs of the day; they buſtle and hurry in the courſe of men and things as they paſs in view, and adapt their conduct, and ſhift and vary as the ſcene changes before them; this deſcription of men *pares negotio neque ſupra*, as Tacitus calls them, for the moſt part, work themſelves into the high offices of government, and in preference to greater characters are admitted and even choſen; their abilities are known and underſtood; their converſation is adapted to the occaſion and to the perſon; they have aſſiduity, and they have method; and the general voice for the promotion of theſe politicians in detail, calls them, *men of buſineſs*. Such, for the moſt part, were the opponents [182] of Demoſthenes, and having too Philip's gold-mines of Crenidæ at their diſpoſal, no doubt they had ſuperior influence in an aſſembly ſo conſtituted as was that of Athens: ſaid Philocrates, "O Athenians, Demoſthenes drinks water, "and I drink wine; is there any wonder that we are on different "ſides of the queſtion?" general laughter and applauſe enſued, and Demoſthenes could not on that day get a hearing [183]: this

Demoſt. Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας.

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egregius compotor was the great friend of Philip; Demades another of his friends kept an excellent table; Æſchines, of the ſame party, was a *man of buſineſs*; and in other reſpects too ſeems to have been ſuited to the ingratiating himſelf with all deſcriptions of men, for he had not only the populace, but Eubulus too and Phocion with him, in the great conteſt with Demoſthenes on the ſubject of their embaſſies.

Æſchinis. Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας. ſub. fin.

Such were the engines of Philip, ſuch were the materials ſuited to the inſtruments; ſuch were the orators who undertook the eaſy taſk, of perſuading the inactive, that activity was uſeleſs; the timid, that war was unneceſſary; and the ſelfiſh, that the public intereſts were in no danger, and required no aſſiſtance: and to Demoſthenes they objected, that he was a mere man of words; that he traduced the people, when he attacked the men of their choice; that his very diſintereſtedneſs was practiſed to deceive; that he meant to ruin them, by embroiling them with their generous and good ally; and that the people ſhould never truſt him in any caſe, for that on the embaſſy to Pella, he would not aſſociate with the miniſters themſelves confided in, and *that he drank water*.

ead. Orat.

Thus even the follies and vices of the people were a very plea to them againſt the pretenſions of a wiſe and virtuous miniſter.

Having in a previous chapter lightly touched a comparative ſketch of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians, I ſhall now briefly concenter the claims to eloquence in a compariſon of Demoſthenes and Cicero, and at the ſame time ſhelter myſelf from the imputation of preſumption under the parallels of Longinus and Quinctilian, and the Elogium of Dionyſius.

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Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, *by a Greek.*

Longin. περὶ ὕψος. C. 12.

——— "whose force cannot be better [184] compared than to "the ocean rolling before a storm! the eloquence of Demosthenes "o'erwarmed with passion, not only is heated, but boils, as it "were, with the flame; nor is the eloquence of *the other* des- "titute of force, whilst assuredly it is fraught with dignity and "splendor; though, I think, no ways animated with the same "glow of feelings, or the same ardour of language: in my "opinion (if, my Terentianus, we Greeks may be permitted "an opinion touching a Latin orator) there is no great distinc- "tion of eloquence between Cicero and Demosthenes, excepting "in the point abovementioned: Demosthenes is more poignant, "lofty, and compressed in stile; Cicero more diffuse: our "Greek, with that strength, brightness, and velocity, enflames "whatever he touches on, that he should be compared to the "tempest, which hurries all before it, or to the lightening, "which strikes at the moment: Cicero's oratory shoots not "forth so impetuously, but as a lambent flame, plays round "its subject, and with the copious matter feeds itself, as it "winds over the soil, till its fuel is exhausted, and its force is "spent even to satiety: yourself, Terentianus will better judge, "but I must further observe, that the season of the Demosthenic "stile, soaring, bold, and impassioned, is when the hearer is "to be carried away, and hurried into the sentiments of the "speaker; and that the proper occasion of the diffusive rhetoric, "is, when it is necessary to calm, or to soften the feelings of "the audience."

Comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes, *by a Latin.*

Quinctil. Inst. Orat. L. 10. C. 3.

——— "Our orators have raised the Latin eloquence to a rival- "ship with that of the Greeks; for I will boldly oppose Cicero

to

" to the moſt renowned of their nation: nor am I unaware of " the many adverſaries I am exciting, nor to what ſtrictures I " expoſe myſelf by the aſſertion; and more eſpecially, as I *ſeem* " to deviate from the path I had propoſed taking, expreſsly to " ſeek this trial with Demoſthenes; but this matters not, when " I allow that the works of Demoſthenes ſhould firſt be read, " or rather gotten by heart: the excellencies of either, I think, " are equal as to political knowledge, ſtrength of argument, " method of arrangement, and as to all other points that come " under the heads of invention and reaſoning: in eloquence they " differ; that of the one, is more compreſſed; that of the other, " more copious; the one is more pointedly, the other more fully, " concluſive; the one is ever keen and forcible; the other ſome- " time keen yet always with dignity; from the one, nothing " could be taken; to the other, nothing could be added; more " art is in the one, more nature in the other; in the witty and " in the tender (which moſt affect the taſte and feelings of men) " we have the better of the compariſon; perhaps the uſages of " his commonwealth precluded ſuch ſort of appeals; and on the " other hand, much that the Athenians admired, might not " have been deemed admiſſible before a Roman audience: as to " their epiſtles, there is no compariſon; and many of either are " extant, for us to decide on their reſpective merits: we muſt " yield ſomething however, under conſideration that Demoſthe- " nes was the elder, and that Cicero became great, as he was, " from the ſtudy of his predeceſſor. To me it ſeems that Marcus " Tullius Cicero, when he applied himſelf to a ſtudy and emu- " lation of the Greeks, exhauſted and made his own, all the " force of Demoſthenes, the exuberance of Plato, and the ele- " gance of Iſocrates."

The Roman gives the preference to the Roman, the Greek to the Greek; however artfully either, under the ſemblance of impartial

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partial criticiſm, gives no direct opinion, yet ſuch is the compariſon, and ſo conducted, as to induce the reader to adopt a favourable idea of preference to the countryman of the writer.

I WILL humbly ſtrive to mitigate the contention, and mediate a truce between the armies of critics, on the grounds, that Cicero and Demoſthenes will ſeverally moſt pleaſe according to the temper of the reader; whether he is of a perſuaſive, or of a commanding ſpirit; whether of an acute mind well informed and well arranged, or of a bold and intuitive genius; whether, and in what degree, a friend to public liberty; for it is not enough to be learned, *the people muſt be free, who can reliſh the eloquence of Demoſthenes.*

Traités par Gendre.

SAYS a French critic, " Il me ſemble qu'on ne fait pas aſſez " valoir un grand motif de decider la ſuperiorité de Ciceron ſur " Demoſthéne; tout eſt ſerré, nerveux et vehement dans l'ora- " teur Grecque; mais toujours également auſtére et impétueux, " il n'eſt pas exempt, avec tout ſon feu, de ſéchereſſe et de mo- " notonie; *il ne connoît qu'un genre d'Eloquence.*"

THIS deciſion hath no weight, though abetted by a whole tribe of academicians, nor will have weight with the reader, when it is ſhown, that the moſt judicious, intelligent, and acute of ancient critics, attributes thoſe very beauties of diverſity and novelty to Demoſthenes, which the modern *(with many aſſociates of higher reputation)* ſo peremptorily denies him. Says Dionyſius [185], " Demoſthenes having collected his political " knowledge from various ſources, and having ever before him " the works and examples of the moſt eminent in the line he " aſſumed, did not deign to make any one man, or any one cha- " racter, the ſcope of his ſtudies and emulation; deeming each " to be imperfect in the whole, or even in the parts of oratory; " he

Dionyſ. Halicarn. περι Δεινοκλους Δημοσθεν. λεξεως.

" he called from each only what was moſt able and excellent,
" and therefrom made himſelf maſter of one ſimple and perfect
" eloquence; imperious, yet pliant; redundant, yet forcible;
" novel, yet familiar; various, yet accurate; ſententious, yet
" agreeable; ſtretched to the ſtrongeſt nerve of argument,
" yet occaſionally relaxing, in relief of the audience; captivat-
" ing the very ear in which it thundered reproach; moral, yet
" impaſſioned; differing nought from that Proteus, whom an-
" cient poets repreſent, as putting on and off at pleaſure every
" form and ſemblance; whether he was a god or dæmon faſci-
" nating the eyes of men, or whether wiſdom perſonified, he
" bewildered with varied eloquence the diverſely affected au-
" dience; but the latter was the probable caſe; and ſuch was
" Demoſthenes; and the character I would give of his eloquence,
" is not that it took in parts, but that it embraced the whole."

I AGREE with Dionyſius, and venture to beſtow the palm of oratory on the Greek, as I did that of hiſtory on the Latins.

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CHAP. XII.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA—FINALLY, THE SURRENDER OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO ANTIPATER—AND SUBVERSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ATHENS.

A FUNERAL oration in honour of thoſe ſlain at the battle of Chæronea was ſpoken by Demoſthenes; the authenticity of the declamation extant hath been diſputed by the ſcholiaſt, as not being replete with that ſublime eloquence which characteriſes his other ſpeeches; but ſurely on ſuch an occaſion, even Demoſthenes might be allowed to fail; all his views had been fruſtrated; every reſource of force and policy exhauſted; Philip, it was not ſafe to irritate; the Athenians it were cruel to depreſs; and the two ſources of invective and ſympathy were thus diverted from the particular field of genius, they were the beſt ſuited to enrich: every circumſtance was delicately to be conducted between the power on one ſide, and the miſeries on the other; and might not the ſpeaker too, be ſuppoſed embarraſſed with ſo touching, ſo diſtreſsful a ſubject! to the declamation of Pericles every Athenian pulſe beat full and high; to repeat the honours of the dead, brought no ſhame on the living, their loſs, no ruin on the republic; and the orator had victory for his theme, and the victorious for his audience! Is no allowance to be made for the difference of the times, or for the feelings of a ſpeaker, who was to ſtand up and deliver to a hopeleſs circle, the funeral oration of their ſucceſsleſs friends, of their liberties, of their country!

Plut. Vit. Demoſth.

Libanius in Wolfii argument. ad λογον Επιταφ. Dem.

Thucyd. L. 2.

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IT hath not been unuſual to cloſe the hiſtory of Greece at this period: had I undertaken to trace the general hiſtory of Greece, I ſhould conſider myſelf as now approaching to an intereſting part of my work; I ſhould look with a curious eye into the tranſactions and conſtitution of the Achæan league; I ſhould buſy myſelf with the Ætolians; I ſhould pry into the various declenſion of each republic, and build walls to Lacedæmon [186]: even the ſingle ſtate of Athens I cannot ſo readily quit with the ſimple aſſertion, "that the liberties of Greece periſhed at the "field of Chæronea."

Tit. Liv. et Polyb. Hiſt. Pauſan. et Strabo. Plutarch. in Vit. Arat. Juſtin. L. 24, & ſeq. &c.

PHILIP neither meddled with the conſtitution of government, nor impoſed tribute, nor exerciſed other immediate marks of ſovereignty over the Athenians; further, he gave them up the bodies of thoſe killed in battle, and diſmiſſed the priſoners he had taken from them: they felt, however, that their liberties exiſted but from ſufferance, and that their power was no more; ſhame and reſentment were vented in mutual accuſation: Demoſthenes flattered his countrymen by laying the defeat at Chæronea, chiefly to the account of Theban cowardice; and what remained, the people ſhifted from themſelves, and laid to the account of their own General: the noble addreſs of thanks from the Roman ſenate to the unfortunate Varro returning from Cannæ,—*quòd de republicâ non deſperâſſet*, was a contraſt to the conduct of the aſſembly, as the aſſembly was a contraſt to that ſenate: ſaid the orator Lycurgus to Lyſicles (without any allegation of guilt, or even of the minuteſt error in command) "you "was General when five hundred Athenian citizens were ſlain, "and when two thouſand were taken priſoners, when a trophy "was raiſed to the diſgrace of this republic, and when all "Greece was ſubjugated; and yet you dare to live, to behold "the light of the day; nay, to expoſe yourſelf in the aſſembly, "a living monument of the ſhame and ruin of your country."

Juſtin. L. 9. C. 4.

Demoſth. λογ. επιλ.

Livii Hiſt. L. 22.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. § 88.

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Lyſicles however did not long ſo remain, but ſuffered death for the weakneſs and follies of his countrymen: he fell a ſacrifice to the ſullen paſſions of popular remorſe and vengeance; which recoiled and fermented within the city, reſtricted from adverſion to the juſter objects of crimination,—to the conduct of Philip, to the traiterous correſpondence of their demagogues, or to their own general ſupineneſs and corruption, which gave them up ſucceſſively to foreign intrigues, and to domeſtic treaſons, till the vigour of their government and empire were too enfeebled for a fair and open trial of force. Whilſt Lyſicles was condemned, the creatures of Philip mingled ſafely in the aſſemblies; can a ſtronger proof be adduced of the political dependancy and ſervitude which enſued the battle of Chæronea? or of the miſerable reſource of factions, thus preying on public misfortune, in default of ſpirit and power, to urge the charge home to public delinquency? inteſtine diſputes touched not on any topic in which Philip might be concerned; to him the Athenians ſhowed hereafter the moſt ſervile attention; at the feſtival of his daughter's marriage ſent him a crown of gold, and their herald publickly announced, as in vaunt of their obſequiouſneſs, "that "no foe to Philip ſhould find an aſylum in Athens:" enough of theſe details of ſervitude, and which too bear a mark and character denoting the Athenians to have been ripe for ſervitude!

Diodor. Sic. L. 16. § 92.

Philip, to ſound the temper of the Greeks, and to prepare them for the Aſiatic expedition, which he had long meditated, called a meeting of their deputies to Corinth; and Athens, and every other ſtate (excepting Sparta) obeyed the ſummons, and in general council coincided with the views of Philip, declaring him commander in chief of the Grecian forces.

Ibid. Iſocrat. Ep. ad Philip.

Philip

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PHILIP lived not to make advantage of his conqueſts; his death was by ſome deemed favourable to a recovery of independancy and power; Demoſthenes, on the news thereof, appeared in the aſſembly with a chaplet on his head, and exhorted the people to new ſtruggles and oppoſition: but the bold and vigilant genius of Alexander gave not this ſpirit time to blaze; he quickly raiſed and appeared with a powerful force, and firſt attacking Thebes, as an example to other cities, levelled its walls with the ground, and ſold its people to ſlavery:—the Athenians intimidated thereby, deputed an embaſſy to Alexander, with ſubmiſſive excuſes for their tardineſs in congratulating him on his acceſſion to the throne of Macedon, and to the command of Greece; and to ſuch humiliation was their republic reduced, that Alexander requiring Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, and eight other orators who had excited the people againſt his own and his father's uſurpations, to be delivered up to him, even the good Phocion adviſed acquieſcence, and it was alone from the interceſſion of Demades with Alexander, that their lives were ſpared. Having obviated the tendency to commotion, and ſubdued each refractory ſpirit within Greece, Alexander convened another council in Corinth, and there having ſettled the proportion of future ſubſidy and levies with the Greek delegates vying in ſubmiſſion and in adulation, he then went forth [187] at the head of his veteran army to work out under Providence, the great revolution of the Eaſt.

Diod. Sic. L. 17. Plut. Vit. Alexand.

Diodorus ut ſupra.

DURING the twelve years that Alexander was purſuing his victories in Aſia, the ſpirit of Athens was for a time ſo wholly ſubjugated, that every occaſion of giving offence to that conqueror was cautiouſly avoided: latterly indeed ſome murmurs of diſcontent, and ſome few refractory decrees, reached the ears of Alexander; but that during his life-time the people dared not openly to aſſert their freedom, is evident from the ſtory of Harpalus:

Arrian. Exp. Alex.

Diodor. Sic. L. 17. § 108.

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palus: Harpalus entruſted with the care of the treaſury at Babylon, had diſſipated in luxury and oſtentation a conſiderable part, and fearing the reſentment thereon of Alexander on his return from India, fled with the remainder to Greece, eſcorting his ſpoil with ſix thouſand mercenaries: this treaſure, and theſe troops he proffered to the Athenians, provided they would join with him in oppoſition to his and their maſter; to this effect he beſtowed largeſſes among the orators, and Demoſthenes as having, with others, accepted a preſent, was ſentenced to a conſiderable fine: during the conteſts with Philip, Æſchines objected to Demoſthenes, "the receipt of money from the treaſury "of Perſia;" and *perhaps* he might have received money from Harpalus; and the motives of his public conduct might thence in ſome degree be vitiated: yet his public conduct was too earneſt, uniform, and in other reſpects diſintereſted, to lightly admit of ſuch aſperſion. The tale of bribery from Perſia was never regarded, and that from Harpalus being thus eagerly taken up, it leads us to ſuppoſe, that the allegation was a mere pretext on the part of the republic for a proſecution, agreeable to Alexander; and the faireſt inference to be drawn from the ſtory of Harpalus is, that Demoſthenes retained a conſiſtent ſpirit of oppoſition to the power of Macedon, and that he was vigilant in ſeizing every occaſion of ſtruggle for his country's emancipation; and a further inference to be deduced from his condemnation is, "that the Athenians were afraid of the conteſt, and unworthy "of freedom."

Diodor. Sic. L. 17. § 4. Plut. Vit. Demoſth.

DURING theſe times of ſubjection and tranquillity, the purſuits of Athens were not yet wholly ignoble: philoſophy, arts, and ſcience, dignified the abaſement of the republic; and in its decline of freedom and of empire, it more eſpecially cultivated the elegance and erudition, ſuited to the ſuſtaining a ſhare of fame and conſequence of another ſort: the pupil of Ariſtotle courted

Ælian. Var. Hiſt. L. 3. C. 17.

courted this enlightened people, admired their purſuits and accompliſhment, and from taſte or policy encouraged "their love "of liberal ſtudies and Attic eaſe." CHAP. XII.

IT is a curious circumſtance, that Xerxes who had yielded to the ſtrength of the republic, from the pillage of the city, ſent into Aſia the ſtatues of Ariſtogeiton and Harmodius; and that Alexander, who had maſtered the republic, ſent from Aſia, and replaced theſe very ſtatues of the firſt aſſertors of that liberty, he had deſtroyed: this remark might ſeem pregnant with little more than conceit, did it not lead to an obſervation on the ill-policy of Alexander, who, ſurely was little conſiderate of the peace and ſecurity of his government, when he ſent to Athens this inflammatory preſent; being ever before their eyes a memorial of their paſt honours and preſent ignominy; ever reproaching them with their abject acquieſcence in a ſervitude ſhameful, however light, and ever with this paſſive temper, contraſting the ſpirit of their ancient martyrs to freedom. Plin. L. 34. C. 8.

THE conqueror's ill-timed generoſity may be preſumed, I think, to have had ſome ſuch effect; for in the laſt book of Arrian, remarking a general embaſſy of the Greeks, addreſſing Alexander as a deity, at the ſame time I remember an exception (mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the fifth book of Ælian) [188] with reſpect to the Athenians, who rouſed from their ſervile complacency, fined the orator Demades for a mere propoſal of his apotheoſis; and when the heroic king ſent his mandate to Greece, ordering each city to receive back its exiles, we find Athens then too (and almoſt ſingly) diſputing his good-will and pleaſure; and Alexander, a ſhort time before his death, had collected a mighty force (ſays Juſtin) *ad delendas Athenas:* but he was cut off in the career of victory, and the Athenians had Et Athenæ. Deipnoſ. L. 6. P. 251. Diod. Sic. L. 18. § 8. Juſtin. Hiſt. L. 13. C. 5.

time

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time to make warlike preparations, wherewith to diſpute the ſovereignty of his ſucceſſors.

Pauſan. in Attic. Diod. Sic. L. 17.

THE vaſt empire of Alexander, hereditary and acquired, being divided among his captains, Macedon, and Greece as its appendant, fell to the ſhare of Antipater; who immedately proceeded to chaſtiſe his refractory ſubjects of Ætolia and Athens: Leoſthenes choſen general of the united forces of theſe ſtates, gained a ſignal victory over the new uſurper, and drove him to a refuge, and cloſely beſieged him, within the city of Lamia: this laſt ſtruggle of the Athenians was for a time bravely ſupported; though Leoſthenes had fallen in a ſkirmiſh before the gates, yet his army was not diſpirited, but ſtill cloſely inveſted the place, and in a ſet engagement of the cavalry, again bore the palm of victory: Antipater no longer thinking himſelf ſafe within the town, ſecretly withdrew; but ſoon again was heard of at the head of the formidable fleets of Macedon: the Athenians vigorouſly then prepared to beat him too from the ſeas, and ſoon they had a fleet of an hundred and ſeventy ſail boldly in queſt of their enemy.

LOOKING back a few years to the inactive and remiſs conduct of the Athenians in regard to Philip, there appears ſubject of aſtoniſhment in the ſudden change from diſſention and ſupine weakneſs, to this preſent ſpirit of unanimous and vigorous exertion: to account for the viciſſitude, I muſt attribute it to the effect of thoſe times, when Alexander roved from kingdom to kingdom, through Aſia, and left Greece to enjoy (what I ſhould call) *the liberal age:* in the various ſchools, politics were reduced to a ſcience, and morals to a ſyſtem; philoſophy gave ſtrength, and the polite arts gave eaſe, and the general activity of the mind, gave to it vigour and ſpirit: the theory of what men ought to do, was becoming

becoming diffuſive, and from its novelties, not yet tedious; and it had attained refinement enough to attach, and had yet ſimplicity enough not to elude the attention: the Athenians proud of the diſtinctions which accrued to them from the portico and the academe, gave readily and generally into the amuſement and ſtudies which ennobled their hour of peace; and from theſe ſtudies, the citizens may be ſuppoſed to have acquired ſomething like, what in modern language is called, *point of honour*; a ſentiment which internally forbids the too eaſy ceſſion of any pretenſion made, whether to juſtice, to valour, to truth, to patriotiſm, or (in a word) to any rare and admired quality: the Athenians curiouſly inveſtigating the duties of a man and of a citizen, in ſome degree, the practice thereof enſued,—talking and writing of the ſpirit of their republican conſtitution, they ſeemed the more bounden to its ſupport; a fortunate ſucceſs on the outſet encouraged the people to go on, and had they finally been victorious in the conteſt, perhaps Monteſquieu had been obliged to wave his ingenious ſyſtem, and recognize the exiſtence (however tranſitory) of a free and well conſtituted democracy, the principle of which was *honour*.

Diodorus obſerves that certain wealthy citizens oppoſed in the firſt inſtance the taking up arms under Leoſthenes, and that ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt conſidered the enterprize as more ſpirited than prudent, to engage with the wealth and armies under the command of Alexander's ſucceſſors, who, whatever their private diſſentions were, might be ſuppoſed in compact to guarantee their partition, and enforce the ſubjection of each province. Such political anticipation was warranted by the event: Clitus deſtroyed the Athenian fleet off the Iſles Echinades; and Craterus joining Antipater with ten thouſand of Alexander's veteran troops defeated too the land forces of the Greeks: —thus finally Athens was reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion. Antipater re-

Diod. Sic. L. 18. Plut. Vit. Phocion.

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taining the form and ſhadow of the old commonwealth, left it under the controul of a præfect and garriſon, and further to enſure a quiet poſſeſſion, baniſhed from the city twenty-two thouſand inhabitants. Theſe, ſays Diodorus, were only thoſe who had not the cenſus neceſſary to the conſtituting a citizen, according to the new regulations; but we may be certain, I think, that Antipater loſt not the oppportunity of ſecuring his government, by baniſhing all whoſe great and leading qualities might gain the aſcendant over his innovations: it is probable that the old intimacy of virtue and poverty was not broken, that the good and indigent went together into exile, and that to be abject as well as to be wealthy, was ſome title to favour: we may therefore pronounce it glorious (and it was the laſt glory of the republic) on ſuch an occaſion to have loſt *ſo many* citizens. The revolution in each dynaſty of Alexander's captains, is a ſubject foreign to this treatiſe; nor doth it coincide with its general tenor to nicely inveſtigate a *mere* liſt of præfects of Athens; Menyllus, Nicanor, and others, down to Demetrius Phalereus, who, ſet over the Athenians by Caſſander, *ruled them* (as we are told) juſtly and wiſely: it may be aſked, "Did not Demetrius Poliorcetes expel the Pha-"larean from his government, and reſtore liberty to Athens?" Liberty, I anſwer, it was then incapable of receiving: for the truth of this remark,—recur to the lives of Plutarch, behold this *refuſe* of the citizens, with the ſervility that diſclaims the name of gratitude, enrolling this deliverer with their gods [189]; decreeing him the honours of Ceres and Bacchus; making an oracle of him; ſacrificing to his ſtatue, covered with the holy veil of their tutelary Minerva; carrying their devotion to ſo fulſome a pitch, that Demetrius himſelf, at length deeming them unworthy of further tenderneſs or management, taxed them at once two hundred and fifty talents, and in the very preſence of the officers who brought it, threw it into the lap of his harlot Lamia.

Ælian. L. 3. C. 17. Diog. Laert. Vit. Demet. Phal. Plut. Vit. Demet.

Athenæ. L. 6. P. 253. Diod. Sic. L. 20.

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It was mightily the fashion of Alexander's captains to be very bountiful—*of liberty to Greece*;—Telesphorus came with it from Antigonus, and Polyperchon sent it from the Peloponnese, and then the Romans followed the example, and proclaimed it by Flaminius—"*Civitas ea autem in libertate est posita, quæ suis stat viribus, non ex alieno arbitrio pendet.*" Liv. Hist. L. 35.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

NOTES IN ILLUSTRATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF ATHENS, *&c. &c.*

APPENDIX.

NOTES, &c.

BOOK THE FIRST.

NOTE [1.] Page 1.

Ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἴδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοίωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν θεῶν. "As men feign to themſelves perſons and figures "of their gods ſimilar to their own, ſo too, do they, lives and actions. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 1. C. 3. CHAP. I.

NOTE [2.] Page 4.

Sed tamen me ſuſtinui, multa minui, multa ſuſtuli, complura ne poſui quidem; ſic tot malis cum vinctum, tum fractum ſtudium ſcribendi, quid dignum auribus aut probabile poteſt afferri?
Cicer. Ep. fam. Lib. 6. Ep. 7.

NOTE [3.] Page 4.

Nec defuêre temporibus Auguſti dicendis decora ingenia, donec gliſcente adulatione detererentur. Tacit. Hiſt. 1.

NOTE

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NOTE [4.] Page 5.

Quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. Tacit. Ann. 4. for a further account of Cremutius Cordus, vid. Senec. Conſol. ad Marciam, &c.

NOTE [5.] Page 6.

Memoriâ rerum geſtarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore creſcere, nec priùs ſedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.

NOTE [6.] Page 9.

The following paſſage relative to the ſubject I have undertaken to inveſtigate, is remarkable.—Ἐνίοι δε καὶ πέρι των Ἀθηναῖων πολιτείας πεποιῆνται μνήμην, ἐγω δέ ταὐτας μεν ἐῶ. των δε Ἀθηναῖων καὶ Θηβαίων ὰ πανὺ τοί πόλλε ωροσδεῖσθαι λόγε πεπείσμαι, δία τὸ μηδε τὰς ἀυξησεις ἐσχηχέναι κάτα λόγον, μήδε τας ἀκμας ἐπιμόνες, μήδε τας μεταβόλας ἐνηλλαχέναι μέρίως, αλλ' ὡσπερ ἐκ προσπαίε τίνος τυχης συν χαὶρῳ λαμψάντας, τὸ δη λεγομένον, ἐπι δοκοῦντας ἀκμην, καὶ μελλόντας ἐυτύχειν, της ἐναντίας πεῖραν ἐιληφέναι μεταβόλας.— "Some writers have taken the republic of Athens as their ſubject; I "ſhall ſcarcely touch upon it; being perſuaded that little uſe can re- "ſult from a conſideration of the hiſtory of Athens, or of that of "Thebes; inaſmuch as their elevation, ſeverally, was ſudden and out "of the common courſe of events; there was no permanency in their "grandeur, nor was there gradation in their decline; but as from a "ſhort gleam of fortune, they merely brightened in an occaſional "point of view; and (as has been obſerved) when moſt appearing to "enjoy proſperity, both in poſſeſſion and in view, they ever ſuffered "the moſt fatal reverſe." Polyb. Hiſt. Lib. 6.

From

CHAP. I.

From the above paſſage it appears, that Polybius conſidered the Athenian hiſtory as affording few grounds of political theory:—the very reaſons which he hath advanced, are reaſons which another writer might have adduced to ſupport a contrary tenet: ſuch a one might have ſaid, "Had the courſe of the Athenian republic been ſlow, regular, and "progreſſive, I ſhould have no particular inducement to ſelect this from "other common-place ſubjects of hiſtory; but the general revolutions "of the Athenian republic were numerous, its viciſſitudes of fortune and "power frequent, its aggrandiſement glorious; its abaſement terrible; "and the changes ſo ſudden, that the cauſe and the effect appear at once "in view, and give each political leſſon its full force and example."

Salluſt too carps at the republic of Athens and its hiſtory; ſays he, "Athenienſium res geſtæ, ſicut ego exiſtimo, amplæ magnificæque fuêre, "verùm aliquanto minores tamen quàm famâ ferantur, ſed quia prove-"nêre ibi ſcriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Athenienſium "facta pro maxumis laudantur, ita eorum, qui ea fecêre, virtus, tanta "habetur, quam verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia."—— Salluſt. Bell. Catalin.

Reſpecting this invidious ſuggeſtion of the Roman, I content myſelf with the obſervation, that a hiſtory of that republic is highly worthy attention; the inſtitutions of which nurtured and produced thoſe many "*præclara ingenia.*"

NOTE [7.] Page 10.

CHAP. II.

THIS and the next chapter are in a certain degree applicable to the firſt population, and to the ruder commencements of every nation, as well as of Greece: however ſucceſſively a hiſtory may be diverſified by different laws, different cuſtoms, arts, and produce, or by fortuitous relations; before thoſe laws were inſtituted, thoſe cuſtoms adopted, arts invented, produce cultivated, or thoſe exterior relations ſtudied, and turned to account, the narrative muſt be ſimple and homogeneous; it muſt be a mere philoſophic detail of human nature; and thus with ſome

CHAP. II. little variation from local circumſtances, the hiſtory of the beginnings of one people, is the hiſtory of the beginnings of all; the progreſs of ſome tardy, of ſome accelerated, but the ſame the courſe of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, of Perſia and of Greece: πολλα ἂν καὶ ἀλλα τίς ἀποδεξειε το παλαιον ελληνικον ὁμοιοτροπα τῳ νυν βαρβαρικῳ διαιτωμενον. Thucyd. L. 1. Sect. 6.

As to what ſome viſionary minds have ſuggeſted of a ſolitary ſtate of nature, I agree with Ariſtotle, that to man "a ſtate of nature," is "a ſtate of ſociety;"—φυσει μεν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπος ζωον πολιτικον, διο καὶ μηδεν δεομένοι της παρ' ἀλληλων βοηθειας, οὐκ ἐλαττον ὀρέγονται τὸ συζῆν.—"Man "is by nature a ſociable animal, and even did not a ſentiment of mu- "tual wants and aſſiſtance require it, yet would mankind herd and "live together." Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 3. Cap. 4.

Ariſtotle juſtly obſerves moreover, "that we are to judge of man in "his ſtate of advancement, and not in that of ignorance; a progreſs "in knowledge being natural to him, and as that progreſs cannot "have due advantage but in a ſtate of ſociety," the philoſopher's induction is, "that the *unſocial* animal, man, (unſocial from nature, and "not from contingency) cannot exiſt; ſuch an animal muſt be either "more or leſs than man:"—ὁ ἀπολις διὰ φυσιν καὶ ὁ διὰ τυχην ἤτοι φαυλος ἐστιν, ἢ κρειττων, ἢ ἀνθρωπος. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 1. Cap. 2.

NOTE [8.] Page 10.

Ariſtotle's obſervation reſpecting the country of Greece is ingenious; and analogous inductions render it intereſting:—τα μεν γαρ ἐν τοις ψυχροις τόποις ἐθνη, καὶ τὰ πέρι τὴν Ἐυρωπην θυμε μεν ἐστι πληρῆ, διανοιας δε ἐνδεεστέρα καὶ τεχνης. διοπερ ἐλευθέρα μεν διατέλει μᾶλλον, ἀπολιτευτα δε, καὶ πλησίον ἀρχειν ὐ δυναμένα. τὰ δε πέρι τὴν Ἀσιαν, διανοητικα μέν, καὶ τεχνικα τὴν ψυχην, ἀθυμα δε. διόπερ ἀρχομένα καὶ δελευθία ἀτελει. Τὸ δέ των ἑλληνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσευει καλὰ τως τόπως, ὰτως ἀμφοῖν μέτεχει, καὶ γαρ ἐνθυμον, καὶ διανοητικον ἐστι. "Thoſe nations ſituated in cold climates, as thoſe for the "moſt part of Europe, are fraught with courage, but are compara- "tively deficient in intellectual force and ingenuity; wherefore the "ſpirit of their political inſtitutions is free, but ill regulated, and

" they are by no means ſuited to the exerciſing extenſive dominion; " whereas the people of Aſia, labour under imbecility of ſpirit, whilſt " their minds are inventive and intelligent; and thus they are generally " ſubjected and enſlaved; but Greece ſituated in a mean latitude, " bears a race of men, partaking the virtues of either,—the bold and " free ſpirit of the one, and the intellectual powers of the other, " people." Ariſt. Pol. L. 7. Cap. 7.

Livy hath a ſimilar idea—" frigida hæc omnis, duraque cultu, et " aſpera plaga eſt, cultorum quoque ingenia terræ ſimilia habet." Liv. Hiſt. 45. So too Herodotus in Calliope—φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλάκων, μαλάκες γίγνεσθαι, ἐ γὰρ τοι της ἀύλης γῆς ἐιναι καρπόν τε θῶύμασον φύει κὰι ανδρας ἀγαθὰς ἐς τὰ πολεμία. L. 9. ſub. fin.

NOTE [9] Page 13.

Primæ frugiferos fœtus mortalibus ægris
Dediderunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ,
Et recreaverunt vitam, legeſque rogârunt.

Lucret. Lib. 1.

Such too was the boaſt of Iſocrates in his Panegyric (Patria ſubaud:) Πρώτη γαρ κὰι νόμες ἐθέλο, κὰι πολίλειαν καλὲςήσαλο, κὰι μεν δη κὰι τῶν τεχνων, τὰς δε πρὸς τα ἀναγκαία τε βἰε χρήσιμας, κὰι τας πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεμαχανημένας, τὰς μέν ἐυρε῀σα, τὰς δέ δοκὶμασασα, χρῆσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς παρεδώκε. " Our Coun- " try firſt inſtituted laws, and firſt ſtate Policy, firſt too thoſe Arts " neceſſary to the comfort of life, and firſt, thoſe tending to the re- " fined pleaſures, and having invented the one, and thereon imagined " the other, bequeathed them for poſterity to enjoy.

Iſocrat. Paneg.

NOTE [10] Page 13.

Ariſtotle, in the courſe of his reaſoning on the diſtinctions of intel- lectual and corporeal force, and the relative pretenſions to command thereon founded, hath in one ſentence, I think, epitomized the entire

CHAP. II.

ſubject—τὸ μέν γαρ δυναμένον τῃ διανοιᾳ προορᾶν ἀρχὸν φύσει καὶ δεσποζόν φύσει. τὸ δέ δυναμένον τῳ σὠματι ταῦτα ποιειν, ἀρχόμενον και φυσει δοῦλον, δια δεσπόῃ καὶ δουλῳ ταὐτα συμφέρει. " The being endowed with foreſight " and intelligence is by nature formed to direct, and therefore to " command; the being enabled by corporeal force to execute and " give effect to theſe—(i. e. to what that foreſight ſhall ſuggeſt, or " intelligence invent) is by nature framed for miniſtry and there- " fore for ſubjection; wherefore the relative ſituation is expedient to " either." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 1.

Note (11) Page 14.

Macrobius in the ſeventeenth and following Chapter of his work, attempts to prove that all the *Dii ſuperi* were in reality the ſame,—*the Sun*. The Theory of Apuleius is different;—

> Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
> Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.
>
> Enn. Poet.

Cæterique id genus quorum nomina quidem noſtris auribus jam diù cognita, poſſumus verò animis conjectare per varias utilitates in vitâ agendâ, animadverſos in iis rebus, quibus eorum ſinguli curant. Apulei: de Deo Socrat. Without preſuming to controvert the doctrine of Macrobius, or of more modern writers, as the very learned Bochart, Bryant, and others, I venture to coincide, in a great meaſure, with the opinion of Apuleius—" that theſe names were deified,—from the uſeful arts,—from the various benefactions and inventions conferred on mankind, which the holders thereof were diſtinguiſhed by, and remembered for: The Sun may have been (and I allow it to be ſo proved) a moſt general object of worſhip in the remote ages, and in moſt parts of the globe;—But is it impoſſible, that the firſt heroic benefactor who ſtarted forth, and became the inventor of arts of eaſe and comfort, or, as it were the *Political Luminary* of his country, to which every eye was directed for beneficence and aid,—Is it improbable, that

He

CHAP. II.

He had ſome honours paid him in (perhaps the only temple) the temple of that celeſtial luminary, which his rude yet grateful followers, till then alone adored?—I ſay, is it improbable *that there have been other children of the Sun beſides the Inca's of Peru?* and that the glories, the qualities, the epithets, the names, and the additions of the adopted ſire, intermingled in the mythology of theſe mortal benefactors, whoſe bleſſings were diffuſive and who *animated*, *cheriſhed*, and *enlightened* a whole people? Or is it any ways neceſſary to deny their exiſtence, to ſupport any theory, or to explain any paſſage of the ancient writers? The worſhip of the ſun, and of deified men have perhaps too been together blended with that of the pure ſpiritual being: the adoration of Neïtha, or ens ſummum of the Ægyptian Saïtæ, is ſuppoſed to have been brought with them when they migrated into Attica, and thence forward to have been preſerved in the worſhip to Ἀθηνη the Minerva of the Athenians, whoſe myſterious words in the comment of Procles on the Timæus are—τὰ ὀν̓τα, καὶ τὰ ἐσσομένα, καὶ τὰ γεγὸνο͂τα ἐγω ειμι, καὶ τον ἔμον χῖτωνα ἔδεῖς απεκὰλυψεν. "I am the preſent, and the paſt, and the fu-"ture, and none have raiſed the veil that covers me!" words, which ſeem to have a holy reference to the true God, ſempiternal, and beyond the ken of eye, or underſtanding! thus, it ſeems, from veneration towards mortal, towards celeſtial beings, and towards the ſupreme benefactor of all, a confuſion hath crept into the ſacred hiſtory of remote ages; and however accurately and learnedly the analyſis of ancient mythology may have been diſcuſſed by various writers, I yet humbly conceive, that neceſſary data may have been too often rejected or omitted, and that the exiſtence of *deified men* ſhould almoſt in every caſe be allowed to co-operate with other objects of religion, for the clearly and juſtly elucidating the myſterious paſſages of the ancient poets and other writers. I repeat that my alluſion is to the *Dii ſuperi*. I by no means confound with *them*, thoſe who were deified as *heroes*, and had a ſubordinate veneration and regard—τὰ δε ἱερα μὲν θεοις, τὰ δε Ἡρω̃σιν. Ariſt. Pol. L. 7. C. 12.

NOTE [12] Page 14.

Condere cæperunt urbes, arcemque locare,
Præſidium Reges ipſi ſibi, perfugiumque
Et pecudes, et agros diviſêre, atque dedêre
Pro *facie* cujuſque, et viribus, ingenioque. Lucret. L. 5.

Even appearance and phyſiognomy were motives of preference in the election of a chieftain, however little entitled to conſideration in a choice, which other and more eſſential diſtinctions ſhould properly direct; they notwithſtanding, however had great weight in the ruder ages, and I remember in the hiſtory of the Saracens it is ſaid, "that "Mahomet was much indebted for ſucceſs on his firſt outſet, to a com- "manding aſpect and piercing eye." Ariſtotle too mentions a people of Æthiopia who choſe their king or chieftain from his bulk and beauty: καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰ κάτα μέγεθος διενέμοντο τὰς ἀρχας, ὥσπερ ἐν Αιθιοπίᾳ φάσι τίνες, ἢ κατα κάλλος. Ariſtot. Pol. L 4. Cap. 4.

NOTE [13.] Page 15.

Θῦμος γὰρ καὶ βελήσις, ἔτι δε ἐπιθῦμια καὶ γιγνομένοις ἐυθύς ὑπαρχει τῶν παιδιόις. ὁ δε λογίσμος καὶ ὁ νῦς πρόισιν ἐγλίνεσθαι πεφύκε. "Choice, will, and paſſion "are prompt even in the child, but underſtanding and reaſoning "belong only to the adult." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 7. Cap. 15.

NOTE [14.] Page 15.

ὥσπερ γὰρ τελεῶθεν βελτίσον τῶν ζωῶν ἀνθρωπος ἐσι, ἕτω καὶ χωρὶσθεν νόμε καὶ δίκης, χειρὶσον θηρίων. χαλεπωτάτη γὰρ ἀδικία ἐχοῦσα ὅπλα. "As under ſuch "and ſuch circumſtances, man is the beſt of all created animals; ſo, "not attending to the laws of reaſon and juſtice is he the worſt; inaſ-

much

" much as nought can be more terrible than the ſpirit to injure, with " ſo many powers, to effect the injury." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 1. Cap. 2. CHAP. II.

Polybius purſues the argument yet further—τὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν γένος δοκεῖν πανουργόταλον εἶναι τῶν ζωῶν, πολὺν ἔχει λόγον τὸ φαυλόταλον ὑπάρχειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ζῶα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις αὐταῖς δουλεύοντα, διὰ μόνας ταύτας σφάλλεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ προσδεδόξοποιημένον ἐκ ἤτιον διὰ τὴν ἀλογισίαν, ἢ διὰ τὴν φύσιν ἁμαρτάνει· " Man being the moſt ingenious, is " therefore liable to be the moſt depraved of all animals; other ani- " mals being ſubſervient only to paſſions, alone err through them, but " man following his phantaſies may err from perverſion of reaſon, as " well as from influence of paſſion." Polyb. Hiſt. 7.

NOTE [15.] Page 16.

— — — — ponere leges
Ne quis fur eſſet, neu latro, neu quis adulter.

Horat. Sat. 1.

NOTE [16.] Page 16.

βασιλείας μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα, ... μία μὲν ἡ περὶ τοὺς Ηρωϊκοὺς χρόνους, αὐτὴ δ' ἦν ἑκουσίων μέν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις . στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλευς, καὶ τῶν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος· " Of the various kinds of monarchy, a diſtinct " one was that of the heroic ages; the obedience of the ſubject was " voluntary, and the power of the king limited and defined, under " the heads of what was allowed to the offices of general, of judge, " or of prieſt, all of which centered in the perſon of the king.

Ariſtot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 11.

NOTE [17.] Page 16.

It was a fine obſervation of Antigonus to his ſon; ἐκ οἶσθα ὦ παῖ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν ἔνδοξον εἶναι δουλεύειν. " Knoweſt thou not my ſon, that to " be a king is to be a ſplendid ſlave."

Ælian. Var. Hiſt. L. 2. Cap. 20.

NOTE [18.] Page 19.

CHAP. III.

Εὐπατρίδαι, γεωμόροι, καὶ δημιῦργοι. Diodor. Sic. L. 1. Sect. 28. In the 24th sect. of the same book, Diodorus mentions a fourth class, dividing the countrymen into those "who tilled the ground," and those, "who tended the flocks."

NOTE [19.] Page 19.

Τό Κάρικον ἦν ἔθνος λογιμωτάτον ἁπάντων ἐθνέων, καὶ τεῖον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον, καὶ μάχῃ μαλίστα. Herodot. L. 1.

NOTE [20.] Page 21.

The knights errant of Greece did not satisfy themselves with mere feats of love, their depredations extended to wealth, as well as to beauty. Προσπίπτοντες πόλεσι ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκεμένας ἥρπαζον, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον τῦ βίυ ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιεῦντο. . . . . οὐκ ἐχόντος πω αἰσχυνην τότε τὸ ἔργυ, φερόντος δε καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον.—"Falling on the unfortified towns, "and scattered villages, they passed their lives in rapine and plun- "der . . . . the above practices, far from being discreditable, even "bearing a character of honour and distinction." Thucyd. L. 1.

NOTE [21.] Page 24.

CHAP. IV.

IT was this long journey, and absence of Theseus, that gave rise to the fable of his going with Pirithoüs to the shades below; his return seeming as it were a return from the grave: καὶ Θησεα δε καὶ Πειριθοῦν μακρας εικος εστι στρατειας ὑπομεινασης, καταλιπειν δοξαν περι ἑαυτων ὡς εις ᾅδου καταβαντας. Strabo. L. 1.

NOTE [22.] Page 26.

Τῆς Μεδοντίδας καὶ' ἀρχὰς ἀφειλοντο ὁ δημος τὴς ἐξουσιὰς, καὶ μετεσῆσαν εἰς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον. Pauſan. Meſſen. Ariſtotle mentions the being ἀνευπεύθυνος· "unaccountable for any conduct, as the diſtinction of deſpotiſm." Τοσαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τυραννίδα μοναρχίαν, ἥ τὶς ἀναπεύθυνος ἀρχει· Ariſtot. Pol. L. 4. Cap. 10.

NOTE [23.] Page 27.

The word not being familiar in our language, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that "Ploutocracy" ſignifies power founded in wealth, or thoſe "powerful from wealth:" the word Πλουτοκρατία is often to be met with in the political treatiſes of Plato, Ariſtotle, and others; no ſubſtitute readily occurring to me I ventured to adopt it.

NOTE [24.] Page 28.

Draco Athenienſis, vir bonus, multâque eſſe prudentiâ exiſtimatus eſt, juriſque divini et humani peritus fuit; is Draco leges quibus Athenienſes uterentur primus omnium tulit; in illis legibus furem, cujus modicumque ſurti, ſupplicio capitis puniendum eſſe, et alia nimis ſeveré cenſuit ſanxitque. Aul. Gell. L. 11. Cap. 8. From their unqualified ſeverity, his laws were ſaid by Demades to have been written not in ink but blood. Some few are preſerved by Plutarch and others; but they are not worth reciting; in my diſregard of him as a lawgiver, I am fully warranted by the opinion of Ariſtotle, in Rhet. L. 2. Cap. 23.

NOTE

NOTE [25.] Page 31.

CHAP. V.

PLATO, in his Politeia, conſiders the revolution of an Oligarchy as neceſſarily paſſing through a mere Ploutocracy to a Democracy; and moſt probably he had the hiſtory of Athens then in view, as the particulars, he enumerates, tally cloſely with the actual circumſtances of the republic at this æra :—Ὀυκοῦν μεταβάλλει μὲν τρόπον τινὰ τοιῶτον ἐξ Ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς Δημοκρατίαν, δι' ἁπλησιαν τῆ προκειμένη ἀγαθῆ, τῆ ὡς πλεονεκτικωτάτη γινέσθαι. πῶς δή ; ἄτε, οἶμαι, ἀρχόντες ἐν αὐτῆ, οἱ ἀρχόντες διὰ τό πολλα κεκτῆσθαι, ἐκ ἐθελῶσιν εἴργειν νόμῳ των νέων ὁσοι ἂν ἀκολασοι γιγνῶνται, μη ἐξεῖναι ἀὐτοις ἀναλίσκειν τέ καὶ ἀπολλῦναι τά ἑαυτων, ἵνα ὠνημενοι τὰ των τοιῶτων, καὶ ἐισδανειζόντες, ἐτι πλουσιώτεροι, καὶ ἐντιμοτέροι γιγνῶνται. " An Oligarchy thus after " a certain manner falls into a Democracy, from the avidity of its " conſtituents in the purſuit of what they deem the chief good, inor- " dinate wealth : in what manner ? Why, as I am of opinion, from " the ruling men, thoſe ruling from the dynaſty of wealth, permitting " the younger citizens, who are prone to diſſipation, to indulge in " every exceſs without enforcing the laws againſt them ; and this in " order that their laviſh profuſion may reduce them ultimately to ſeek " reſources in thoſe uſurious practices, by which themſelves may be- " come yet more rich, and more powerful." Plat. Polit. L. 8.

—And then bringing into view, at once the enervate luxury and oppreſſive pride of *the few*, the broken fortunes *of ſome*, and the deſperate ſervitude of *the many* ; Plato facilitates a deduction, intimating ſedition and inſurrection, progreſſive to the revolution and conſequences above ſtated.

NOTE [26.] Page 32.

The firſt claſs of citizens according to the inſtitutions of Solon conſiſted of thoſe, whoſe revenues amounted to five hundred medimni, or buſhels of corn or fruit; the ſecond, of thoſe who had a rent of three hundred buſhels, and who kept a horſe ; the third, of thoſe who had two hundred, and the fourth and laſt claſs, of all thoſe whoſe revenue

nue was of leſs amount, and who ſupported themſelves by menial arts and labour; nor did theſe diſtinctions affect the ſpirit of the republican conſtitution, watchful over the freedom and rights of all its citizens indiſcriminately; there yet was left a virtual equality; ſays Monteſquieu, "Il ſuffit que l'on établiſſe, un cens qui reduiſe au fixe les "différences a un certain point, après quoi c'eſt a des loix particu- "liéres à egaliſér, pour ainſi dire, les inegalités, par les charges "qu'elles impoſent aux riches, et le ſoulagément qu'elles accordent "aux pauvres." L'Eſprit des Loix. L. 5. Chap. 5. this was preciſely the caſe at Athens, vid. Iſocrat. Orat. περι αντιδοσεως. Xenoph. Pol. &c. &c.

CHAP. V.

NOTE [27.] Page 34.

Πολίτης δ' ἁπλως οὐδένι τῳ ἀλλῳ ὁρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ τῳ μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχης. . . . . διόπερ ὁ λεχθεις ἐν μέν δημοκρατίᾳ μαλίστα ἐστι πολίτης.—"A citi- "zen can by nothing be ſo much diſtinguiſhed, as by a participation "of a political and judicial capacity, wherefore a citizen in a demo- "cratic government, may be ſaid to be more a citizen than any other." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 3. C. 1. His definition, Lib. 3. Cap. 8. is at once more full and correct, and comes nearer to a deſcription of Solon's citizen.—Πολίτης δέ κοινῃ μὲν ὁ μετέχων τῶ ἀρχειν καὶ ἀρχέσθαι. ἐστι καθ' ἑκάστην πολιτεῖαν ἕτερος, πρὸς δε τὴν αριστὴν, ὁ δυναμένος καὶ προαιρεῦμενος ἀρχέσθαι καὶ ἀρχειν πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν καθ' ἀρετὴν. "Generally ſpeaking, a citizen is one par- "taking equally of ſubordination and power; the definition may be "accommodated to different ſtates, but in one the beſt conſtituted, "the citizen is one competent to, and occaſionally candidate for, every "office in proportion to his eſtimation and good life."

Ariſtot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 8.

NOTE [28.] Page 34.

The paying the citizens a certain ſtipend when exerciſing the function of juryman, I am well aware has been attributed to Pericles; but the words of Ariſtotle may be otherwiſe conſtrued;—τὰ δε δικαστήρια μισ-

CHAP. V.

Ἀποφόρα καλεσῆσε Περικλης. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 2. Cap. 10. The perverſion of the judicatory fee, is what I ſuſpect of Pericles; and that he introduced recompence for attendance on public buſineſs and public trials; and this will explain the paſſage of Ariſtotle when he further adds,—ϗ τᾶτον δή τον τρόπον ἑκαστος τῶν δημαγώγων πρόηγαγεν αὐξων ἐις την νῦν Δημοκρατίαν.--The demagogues, whilſt they ſtudied merely to ingratiate themſelves with the people, by bringing more buſineſs and more profit to the aſſembly, brought on the further conſequence of extending the power of the people, as well as their own; and Ariſtotle, Lib. 6. Cap. 2. conſiders ſuch as one obvious cauſe of the ruin of the republic; the people, in proportion as they became more idle, laſcivious, and corrupt, arrogating to themſelves a right of aſſembly, and judgment, on queſtions beyond their juſt province, merely that they might receive the conventional ſtipend.

NOTE [29.] Page 35.

The accuſation in Æſchines's oration againſt Cteſiphon, was chiefly that he had not rendered account to the people of his conduct whilſt in office.

NOTE [30.] Page 36.

Solon's law relative to conſpiracies has been a favourite ſubject of explanation and controverſy: Aulus Gellius quotes the ſaying of the philoſopher Favorinus;—"that the caſe provided for was ſimilar to that "of a quarrel between two brothers, when the third brother interfering not, ſtrangers might come in, and take advantage of the diſ-"ſention;" but the argument of the text is undoubtedly the moſt weighty in favour of this law; for the ſucceſs of treachery is generally founded on the indolence or unwarineſs of its object.

NOTE

NOTE [31.] Page 37.

Σολωνα μἰξαυλα καλῶς ἡν πολἰλειἂν, ἔιναι γαὰρ τὴν μέν εν Ἀρειὸπαγῳ βουλὴν, ολιγαρχικόν. τὸ τε τας ἀρχας ἄιρετας, Αριϛοκρὰτικον. τὰτε δικαϛἠρια δημότικον· Ariſtot. Pol. L. 2. Cap. 10.

. . . . . Παρεκβάϛεις, τυρὰννις μεν βασιλἔιας. ὁλιγαρχία δε, Αριϛοκρὰτιας. Δημοκραλία δε πολἰλειἂς. ϖρὸς δε τῳ κοἰνῳ λυϛἰτελοῦν ἐδεμία ἀὐλων· ibid.

. . . ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλἠθος ϖρὸς το κοἰνον πολἰλευἠται συμφέρον καλεἴται τὸ κοινὸν ὀνομα ϖᾶϛων πολἰλειῶν, πολἰλειὰ· Ariſtot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 5.

NOTE [32.] Page 37.

. . . . ἡ γαὰρ ἀὐλη πολἰλειὰ τότε ἡν, καὶ νὺν ἐϛιν Ἀριϛοκραλία, ἐν ᾗ νὺν ϖολιλεὔομεθα, καὶ τὸν ἀει χρόνον ὡς τα πὸλλα. κἄλει δε ὁ μεν ἀὐλὴν Δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δε ἄλλο, ᾧ ἀν χαὶρη. ἐϛι δή Ἀληθειὰ, μεἶ ἐυδοξίας πλἠθυς Ἀριϛοκραλία· Platon. Dial. Menexen.

NOTE [33.] Page 38.

. . . . ἐδε των νὸμων φρὸνἰζυϛι γεγραμμένων, ἡ ἀγράφων, ἵνα δη μἠδαμη μἠδεις ἀὐλοις ἦ δεϛπὸτης· Platon. Polit. L. 6.

NOTE [34.] Page 39.

. . . Ἐυρἰϛκω δὲ ταὔτην ἀν μόνον γενομένην (ϖροϛόδον) καὶ τὼν μελλὸνλων ἀϖοϛρόϖην, καὶ ϖαρὸνλων κἄκως ἀϖαλλάγην, ἡν ἐθελἠϛωμεν ἐκεἶνὴν τὴν Δημοκραλίαν ἀναλἀβειν, ἡν Σὸλων μεν ὁ δημικωλὰτος γιγνομένος ἐνομὀθελησε. Κλειϛθένης δε, ὁ ἀὐλος τυρὰννυς ἐκβάλων, καὶ τὸν δημὸν καλαγάγων, ϖἀλιν ἐξαρχῆς καλεϛἤϛαν. Iſocrat. Archid. oratio:—there was ſuch a confuſed uſe made of the word Δημοκραλία by the ancients, that no good inference can be drawn of the original inſtitution of Athenian government from Iſocrates, or even from Solon's application of it:—in another paſſage of his works

CHAP. V.

Iſocrates ſays—Λυκοῦργος τὴν τε Δημοκρατίαν κατασησάμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀριστοκρατίαν μεμιγμένην, ὑπερ ἣν παρ ἡμῖν·—i. e. "Lycurgus having inſtituted for "them, (the Lacedæmonians) a *mixture* of democracy and ariſtocracy "like *to ours*." Iſoc. Panath.

This was a conſtitution of government founded on the beſt principles, thoſe of *virtue* and *freedom*; Ἀριστοκρατίας μεν γὰρ ὅρος ἀρετὴ, δήμου δε ἐλευθέρια· Ariſt. Pol. L. 4 Cap. 8. Ariſtotle, as hath been obſerved, in one place treats the democracy as a mere perverſion or excentricity of a political conſtitution; and in another place he ſays—ἐστι γαρ ἡ πολιτεῖα, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπειν, μιξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰωθασι δε καλειν τας μεν ἀποκλινούσας, ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, πολιτείας· τὰς δέ πρὸς τὴν ολιγαρχίαν, ἀριστοκρατίας· "a republic properly ſpeaking is a mixture of oligarchy "and democracy; when the principle of the oligarchy predominates, "the term applied is *ariſtocracy*; when the tendency is to a democracy, "the name given is *republic*." From the paſſages above cited, it ſhould appear that a democracy in itſelf was ſcarcely acknowledged as a practical conſtitution of government by the ancient political writers: and thus it ſeems to me,—for Ariſtotle when in his fourth book, he inveſtigates the ſubject of a *democracy* as a good and genuine conſtitution of ſtate, evidently uſes that *term* for *republic*, as the very definitions explain; and as the purpoſe of this note is to prove that *democracy* is ever uſed in that ſenſe, when applied to the common-wealth of Athens; and that a confuſion of language and ideas has ariſen from the uſing the word Δημοκρατία ſometimes in a ſimple, and ſometimes in a qualified ſenſe, I cannot better elucidate the matter in queſtion, than by adducing the definitions of Ariſtotle alluded to.

1. Δημοκρατία μεν οὖν εστι πρώτη μεν ἡ λεγομένη μάλιστα καθα τὸ ἴσον. ἴσον γὰρ φησιν ὁ νομος, ὁ της τοιαύτης δημοκρατίας τὸ μηδὲν μᾶλλον ὑπαρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους·

2. Ἄλλο δε τὸ τὰς αρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι, βραχέων δε τελῶν ὄντων·

3. Ἕτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας τὸ μετέχειν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας, ὅσοι ανευπεύθυνοι, ἄρχειν δέ τον νόμον·

4. Ἕτερον δε εἶδος δημοκρατίας, τό πᾶσι μετεῖναι των ἀρχων, ἐάν μόνον ἡ πολίτης, ἄρχειν δὲ τον νόμον·

5. Ἕτερον δε εἶδος δημοκρατίας, τ' ἄλλα μὲν εἶναι ταυτά, κύριον δ' εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος,

πλῆθος, καὶ μὴ τον νόμον. τῦτο δε γίνεῖαι ὅταν τά ψηφίσματα κύρια ᾖ ἀλλα μὴ ὁ νόμος. CHAP. V.

" The firſt ſort of democracy, is that inſtituted on the ſtricteſt prin-
" ciples of equality; in ſuch a democracy law and policy equalize the
" claims of all, and the poor and the rich equally participate the ad-
" miniſtration of that law and policy."

" The ſecond ſort of democracy is that, wherein the government is
" limited to the poſſeſſors of a certain property by cenſus, the offices
" of government being held for a defined and but ſhort period.

" The third ſort of democracy is that, wherein every citizen may
" partake of the government, provided that he is not at the time ame-
" nable or accountable; and wherein law governs ſupreme."

" The fourth, that democracy wherein every citizen unconditionally
" partakes of the government, and wherein law governs ſupreme."

" The fifth, that democracy wherein the people are ſupreme and not
" the law; wherein, the contingent decrees of the aſſembly ſuperſede,
" or are ſubſtituted for a conſtitutional code."

Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

The third and fourth ſpecies are nearly the ſame, with a ſmall but neceſſary amendment in the third; and Ariſtotle Cap. 4. lib. 6. of the ſame work, enumerates but four kinds of democracy and prefers the firſt above cited; the principle of it, is indeed the ſimple and genuine one; but if we connect with it, that part of the *ſecond* which requires a certain rate of property in the magiſtracy; and that part of the *third* which renders the executive authority pure, immaculate, and unſuſpected; and thoſe parts of the *third* and *fourth* which make eſtabliſhed law ſupreme both in judicial caſes, and internal polity; and that part of the *fifth* which makes the aſſembly of the people ſupreme, as far as relates to exterior and political contingency;—we ſhall then have a conſtitution of government, nearly ſuch as Solon inſtituted, and as Iſocrates deſcribed by the term *Democracy*,—Ariſtotle by that of *Republic*,—Plato by that of *Ariſtocracy*.

NOTE

NOTE [35.] Page 43.

CHAP. VI.

. . . . λύτρωσις σωμάτων καὶ κλήρων, . . . ἀυτος ο νόμος ἐκληθη 'σεισαχθέια· This was a general insolvent act, a general release of persons and of obligations. Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

NOTE [36.] Page 44.

. . . εισαγέλιαι δη καὶ κρίσεις καὶ ἀγωνες πέρι ἀλλήλων γίγνονται. ὁυκοῦν ενα τινα ἀει ὁ δημος ἐιῶθε διαφέροντως προῖσασθαι ἑαυτε, καὶ τέτον τρέφειν τε, καὶ ἀυξειν μέγαν. τέτὸν μεν ἄρα δηλὸν ὁτι ὅταν πεφυκέναι τυραννος, ἐκ προστατίκης ρίζης ἐκβλαστάνει· Platon. Polit. L. 4.

NOTE [37.] Page 45.

Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior fuisse traditur, quam Pisistrati?—qui primus Homeri libros confusos anteà sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cicer. de Oratore.—μᾶλλον Σόλων ὕμηρον ἐφωτίσεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος ὡς φησι Διευχίδας.—"Dieuchidas says that Solon, rather than Pisistratus was the first edi-"tor of Homer." Dieuchidas was an historian of the Magarensians: Diog. Laert. v. Solon.—It is probable that Solon, who travelled through Lydia and most parts of the Asiatic coast, did in the course of his journeys collect the Rhapsodies; Pisistratus might afterwards have arranged the collection, and so Cicero seems to have understood it.

NOTE [38.] Page 45.

Plato's usurper bears the exact character of Pisistratus, and the picture was probably less a work of fancy, than from the life; "he is mild, ingratiating,

" ingratiating, and juſt; he frames good laws, he attends to the duly CHAP. VI.
" enforcing them, he is fond of agrarian reſtrictions, and he guards
" equally againſt the poverty, and ſuperabundance of any, that being
" neceſſitated to daily employment and induſtry, they may have leſs
" time to plot againſt his government:" ἵνα πένητες γιγνομένοι πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαζῶνται εἶναι, καὶ ἧττον ἄλλῳ ἐπιβουλεύωσι. Platon. Pol. Lib. 8. thus to employ the citizens Piſiſtratus built the Temple of Jupiter Olympius. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 1. Cap. 11. So too Ælian, Πεισίστρατος, ὅτι τὴς ἀρχὴς ἐγκράτος ἐγένετο, μελέπεμπτο τὺς ἐν ταις ἀγόραις ἀποσχολαζόντας, καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅτι δήποτε ἔιη τὸ αἴτιον τὸ ἀλύειν ἄυτον;—καὶ ἐπέλεγεν,—ἢ μέν σοι τεθνῆκε ζεῦγος, πάρ' ἐμοῦ λάβειν, ἀπιθι καὶ ἐργάζου. . . . δεδίως μὴ ἡ σχολὴ τέλων ἐπιβουλὴν τέκῃ· " Piſiſtratus having uſurped the government, was wont
" to chide thoſe loitering in the public places of the city, and aſked,
" Why ſo idle? have you loſt your team?—I will give you another,—
" go and work,—fearful leſt idleneſs begat deſigns againſt his ſtate."
Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 9. Cap. 25.

NOTE [39.] Page 46.

. . . τρίτη δὲ τυραννὶς ἡ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Ἀθηνῆσιν, ἐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχῆς, δὶς γὰρ ἐφύγε Πεισίστρατος τυράννων, ὥστε ἔτεσι τριακοντα καὶ τρισιν, ἐπτα καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν τὸν τυραννεύσεν· Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 5. Cap. 12. So that the interval of ſixteen years out of thirty three, from the uſurpation to the deceaſe of Piſiſtratus, was, at two different times, filled up by an interregnum, or anarchy, or civil commotion, or uſurpation of Megacles;—no particular account of which remain.

NOTE [40.] Page 48.

In making Hipparchus the Elder I have followed Plato,—Ἱππαρχῳ CHAP. VII.
ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος, καὶ σοφώτατος· Hipparch. Dialog. Ælian ſays the ſame, var. Hiſt. Lib. 8. Cap. 2. and yet the authority of

Thucydides was before him. Ἱππίας μὲν πρεσβυτάλος ὢν ἦρχε των Πεισιστράτῳ υἱέων· Hiſt. Lib. 1. ſect. 10.—Pauſanias in Atticis ſeems to ſide with Thucydides. καὶ Πεισιστρατος καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἱππίας φιλανθρωποι μᾶλλον καὶ σοφωτέροι, ες ὁ διά την Ἱππαρχε θανατον Ἱππίας ἐχρῆσατο θυμῳ· It is of little importance whether the king, or the king's brother was killed; the political conſequences of the fact were the ſame.

NOTE [41.] Page 49.

. . . δίο δη τῶτε (Σόλωνος) νομοθεσια καταπλησθεντες τας ψυχας, Αρμόδιος καὶ Αριστογειτων καταλύειν ἐπιχειρῆσαν τήν των Πεισιστρατιδων ἀρχην. Diodor. Sic. excerpt. πέρι αρετης·

NOTE [42.] Page 49.

Καὶ γαρ ἂν τὸν ἀριστον ἀνδρων πάντων, ἑαυτα ἐς ταυτην τὴν ἀρχην ἑκτος των ἐωθότων νοημάτων ἑῆσει· Herodot. Thalia.

NOTE [43.] Page 50.

Comunque ſe ſia io non giudicho, ne giudichero mai eſſer' difetto, difendere alcuni opinioni con le ragioni ſenza volervi uſare o' l'autoritá, o' la forza. Machiav. Diſc. Lib. 1. Cap. 58.

NOTE [44.] Page 50.

" Nec quiſquam tibi fidelior militum fuit dum amarì meruiſti."
Tacit. Ann. 15.

—dubitavit (Nero) an cuncta vectigalia omitti juberet idque pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium daret. Ann. 13.

. . . . . " privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciſcar." Ann. 3.

. . . . " ne verterent ſapientèr reperta et ſemper placita; ſatis onerum " principibus, ſatis potentiæ; minui jura, quoties gliſcat autoritas; " neque utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi poſſet." ibid.

hujus

hujus igitur pueritia blanda, ingenioſa, parentibus affabilis, parentum amicis jucunda, populo accepta, grata ſenatui. CHAP. VII.

Ælian. Spart. vit. Caracall.

NOTE [45.] Page 52.

—ἐλευθέριας δε καὶ φιλιας ἀληθὲς τυραννικη φὺσις ἀει ἀγεὺσος.

Plat. Pol. 8.

NOTE [46.] Page 52.

The claſſic ſtudent is ſo accuſtomed to read of the libidinous depravity of the ancients, that in general diſguſt he may not have payed due attention to the ſubject here treated of, nor have ſufficiently diſcriminated two connections, as widely diſtant as the extremes of vice and virtue.

The love of the old man for the young alluded to in the text, had its pretended ſource in divine example, for ſuch was the explanation of the rape of Ganymede; καὶ εγωγε δε φημι, καὶ Γανὺμηδην ἀ σὼμάλος, ἀλλα ψὺχης ἕνεκα, ὕπο Δὶος ἐις Ὀλὺμπον ἀνενεχθῆναι. "Ganymede, I ſay, not from excel-" lence of corporeal, but of mental and ſpiritual beauty, was by the " God taken to his own habitation." Xenoph. Sympoſ. Cap. 8.

Plutarch in an elegant paſſage of his *Diſſertationes Eroticæ*, thus deſcribes the pure tendency of theſe connections, ὕὺλως ἔρως ὁ γνὴσιος ὁ παιδίκος ἐσιν, ἀ πὸθῳ ϛἰλέων, ως ἐφη τὸν παρθένιον Ἀνακρεων, ἐδε μὺρων ἀναπλέως καὶ γεγανὼμενος, ἀλλα λιλὸν αὐλὸν ὀψει ἐν σκὸλαις φιλοσοφίης, ἢ πὰ πέρι γυμνασία, και παλαὶϛραις περι θέρα νέων ὀξὺ μαλά καὶ γεννᾶιον εγκελευομένον πρὸς ἀρελὴν τοὶς ἀξιὸις ἐπιμελεῖας. " The pure genuine affection is that for young men, " not glowing with paſſion, as the feminine Cupid of Anacreon, nor " nouriſhed with delicacies and perfumes, nor embelliſhed by dreſs; " but you will ſee it unperturbed and unadorned attending the voice " of philoſophy, or exerciſing in the ſchools of manly wiſdom and " manly labour; there will you ſee this chaſte love inſpiring deeds of

CHAP. VII.

" difficulty, and ſentiments of virtue, into the breaſt of every youth " whom it ſhall deem worthy its leſſons and ſuperintendance."

Plut. Differt. Erot.

In the life too of Lycurgus it is explained, that no jealouſies, ſuch as attend a leſs worthy paſſion, ever mingled in theſe attachments, but were ſuperſeded by a ſpirit of virtuous emulation. ἀρχὴν ἐποιεῖτο φιλίας πρὸς ἄλληλους οἱ τῶν ἐρασθέντες, καὶ διαλεγόμενοι, κοινῇ σπουδάζοντες, ὅπως ἀρίστου ἀπεργασαίτο τὸν ἐρωμένου. " If two old men attached themſelves to the ſame " youth, it was a cement of mutual friendſhip, and far from ſtrife; the " rivalſhip merely begat a contention, which ſhould render the object " of predilection moſt wiſe and moſt virtuous." Plutarch. vit. Lycurg. The following paſſage of Ælian, places the matter in the cleareſt light. —ἄλλον δέ τινα ἄνδρα κάλον ἀδένος ἐρῶντα τῶν καλῶς πεφυκότων, καὶ τοῦτον ἐζημίωσαν (Σπαρτιᾶται) ὅτι χρήσιμος ὢν ἀδένος ἦρᾶ. " among the Spartans, if a " man of worth and virtue, beſtowed not his affections on ſome well-" born youth, he was ſubject to penalties, inaſmuch as he might be " uſeful and was not ſo." Var. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 10.—in fact they were mere preceptors, a troubleſome office, which the ſtate fined thoſe who refuſed or declined.

NOTE [47.] Page 53.

—Τὴν δὲ Ιωνίαν καὶ ἀλλοθί πολλαχοῦ αἰσχρὸν νενομίσαι, ὅσοι ὑπὸ βαρβάροις οἰκοῦσι, ... διὰ τὰς τυραννίδας αἴσχρον τοῦτο γέ καὶ ἡ γε φιλοσοφία, καὶ φιλογυμναστία, ἐ γὰρ ἅμα συμφέρει τοῖς ἀρχομένοις φρονήματα μεγαλὰ ἐγγίνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδὲ φιλίας ἰσχύρας καὶ κοινωνίας. Platon. Sympoſ.

NOTE [48.] Page 54.

. . καίτοι Παυσανίας γε Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔρασης ἀπολογούμενος ὑπέρ τῶν ἀκρασία συγκυλινδουμένων, ἔφησεν, ὡς καὶ στρατεύμα ἀηττητότατον, ἂν γένοιτο ἐκ παιδικῶν τε καὶ ἐραστῶν. Xenoph. Sympoſ. Cap. 8.

NOTE

NOTE [49.] Page 58.

CHAP. VIII.

Beſides the paſſage alluded to of Herodotus, Ed. Gronov. p. 309, mentioning the encreaſe of the tribes, there is a ſubſequent one, page 211, wherein Cliſthenes is ſaid to have enrolled in thoſe tribes certain new *Demi* or diſtricts of people, and this tallies with the account of Ariſtotle in his Politics, Lib. 3. cap. 1. the paſſage, "ἡν τε τὸν δῆμον "προσθεμένος, πολλῷ καὶυπὲρθε των ἀνὶισὰσεωῖων." I have placed to either account generally, and the conſtruction I think, taken in a full and relative view, warrants not a more confined acceptation.

NOTE [50.] Page 61.

—Λακεδαίμονιες δία τᾶτα καλλὶςα πολὶτευόμενες ὁτι μαλὶςα δημόκρατᾶμενοι τυγχάνεσιν· Iſocrat. Orat. Areopag.

NOTE [51.] Page 61.

πᾶσα πολὶτεῖα ψὺχη τῆς πολεως ἐςι τοσαὺτην ἐχὲσα δυναμιν, ὁσηνπὲρ ἐν σὼμαὶι φρόνησις·—"a political conſtitution may be termed the ſoul of the "ſtate,—having a force therein as mind in body."

Iſocrat. Panath.

The following ſentence of Ariſtotle is a proper comment on the above paſſage—ἡ δε πολὶτεια, τὼν ἀρχων τὰξις ἐςι.

Politica, Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

NOTE [52] Page 61.

ἐγω μεν τὸτο ἀέι ὡσὶε νὸμιζω, οποῖοι τίνες ὸι πρόσαλὰι ὦσι, τοιᾶὐλας καὶ πολίὶείὰς γὶγνεσθαι· Xenoph. περι πρόσοδων.

NOTE [53.] Page 62.

. . . . vedeſi ancora nelle ſue elezioni ai magiſtrati fare di lunga migliore elezione che un principe, ne mai ſi perſuaderà ad un popolo che ſia bene tirare alla dignità un uomo infame e di corrotti coſtumi; il che, facilmente e per mille vie ſi puo perſuader ad un principe.

Machiav. Diſcorſ. Lib. 1.

Le peuple eſt admirable pour choiſir ceux a qui il doit confier quelque partie de ſon autorité; Il n'a à ſe determiner que des choſes qu'il ne peut ignorer, et des faits qui tombent ſous les ſens; il ſcait très-bien qu'un homme a été ſouvent à la guerre, qu'il a eu tels ou tels ſuccés, il eſt donc très-capable d'elire un general;—il ſcait qu'un juge eſt aſſez aſſidu, que beaucoup des gens ſe retirent de ſon tribunale contens de lui, qu'on ne l'a pas convaincu de corruption, en voilà aſſez pour qu'il eliſe un preteur: . . . . . toutes ces choſes ſont des faits dont le peuple s'inſtruit mieux dans la place publique, qu'un monarque dans ſon palais. . . . . ſi l'on pouvait douter de la capacité naturelle qu'a le peuple pour diſcerner le merite, il n'aurait qu'á jetter les yeux ſur cette ſuite étonnante de choix étonnans, que firent les Atheniens et les Romains, ce qu'on n' attribuera pas ſans doute au hazard. L. Eſprit des Loix, Lib. 2. Chap. 2.

So too Machiavel,—'il quale (il pop. Rom.) in tante centinaije d'anni, in tanti elezioni di conſoli è dì tribuni non fece quattro elezioni, di chi quello n'aveſſe di pentire.

Diſcorſ. ſu'l. 1mo dec. di Tit. Liv. L. 1. C. 58.

Ariſtotle likewiſe obſerves, that the great legiſlators of antiquity, all ſprang from the middling rank of citizens, from the body of the people;

ple; and adduces the fact in proof of his aſſertion, that in popular governments—οἱ μέσοι—i. e. thoſe men equally ſuited to command and to obey,—to chuſe and to be choſen,—thoſe above prejudices of the vulgar little, or vulgar great are alone to be found:—σημεῖον δε δεῖ νόμιζειν καὶ τὰς βελτίους νομοθεσίας εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν. Σόλων δέ γὰρ ἦν τούτων, δηλοῖ δέ ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως, καὶ λυκοῦργος, ἐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλευς, καὶ χαρώνδας, καὶ σχεδόν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἄλλων. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 4. C. 11.

NOTE [54.] Page 63.

Machiavel ſpeaking of the *ſimple* forms of government, and of thoſe *approximating* or *leaning* thereto, ſays, " Dico adunque che tutti " i *detti modi* ſono peſtiferi per la *brevitá* della vita che è nelle tre' " *buoni*, è per la malignitá chi è nelle tre' rei. Diſcorſ. L. 1. C. 2.

NOTE [55.] Page 64.

. . . . e perche io parlo de corpi miſti come ſono le republiché, dico che quelle alterazioni ſono a ſalute, che le riducono verſo i principii loro e peró quelle ſono meglio ordinate, ed hanno piu lunga vita, che medianti gli ordini ſuoi, ſi poſſono ſteſſo rinovare, 'ò vero che per accidente, ſuori di detto ordine vengono a detto rinovazione; ed è coſa piu chiara che la luce, che non ſi rinovando queſti corpi, non durano: il modo di rinovargli è come è detto, ridurgli verſo i principii ſuoi, perche tutti i principii delle ſette e delle republiche, e de regni, conviene che abbiano in ſe qualche bontá mediante laquale, repiglino la prima reputazione ed augmento loro; e perché nell' proceſſo del' tempo, quella bontá ſi corrumpe ſe non interviene coſa, che la riduca al ſegno, ammazza di neceſſitá quell' corpo: e queſti dottori di medecina dicono, parlando dei corpi degli uomini—" *Quòd* " *quotidiè aggregatur aliquid, quod quandoque indiget curatione.*"

Machiav. Diſcorſ. Lib. 3^zo. Cap. 1mo.

Such is the fluctuation of manners, and ſo dependant thereon political inſtitutions, that the diuturnity cannot be preſumed even of a ſtate

ſtate poſſeſſing the principle which Machiavel hath ſuggeſted;—or even of thoſe,—the moſt ſtudied efforts of Utopian ſyſtematics:—the viſionary Plato himſelf is obliged to confeſs it of his own Republic or Politeia: ſays he,—'χαλεπὸν μεν κίνηθῆναι πολιν οὐτω ξυσᾶσαν, 'αλλ' 'επέι γενομένῳ παντεφθόρα ἐστι, ἆδε ἡ τοιαύτη ξύστασις τὸν ἁπᾶντα μένει χρὸνον ἀλλα λυθῆσεται·—" It will be difficult to move or ſubvert a government ſo " conſtituted, (*as his Politeia*) but ſince corruption is incident to all, " and every one, that has been; ſuch conſtitution too ſhall in its turn " be diſſolved. Platon. Pol. Lib. 8.

Ariſtotle and Plato have treated largely of the revolutions incident to each form of government, and of the circle of polity, through which it recurs to its original ſtate, and anew takes the ſame career of viciſſitude: the hiſtorian Polybius too in his ſixth book hath treated copiouſly of theſe ſubjects: the changes from Tyranny to Ariſtocracy, from Ariſtocracy to Oligarchy, from Oligarchy to Democracy, and from Democracy to Tyranny again, have been ably inveſtigated by theſe philoſophers and politicians; and not to tire with too numerous, or prolix quotations, I refer the reader to the originals, or leave it to his ingenuity to connect theſe links of the Political Chain.

NOTE [56.] Page 65.

Ariſtotle hath dedicated the ninth chapter of the third book of his Politics to a conſideration of the oſtraciſm, and clearly proves that without this honorary method of getting rid of thoſe eminent from their wealth, their alliances, their popularity, or their policy, no free Republic could long remain ſo. τὰς δοκούσας ὑπέρεχειν δύναμει, δία πλᾶτον ἢ πολυφιλίαν, ἡ τινα ἄλλον πολίτικης ἴσχὺν· Diodorus Siculus too obſerves that there entered no idea of puniſhment, in this ſpecies of baniſhment, but that it was enacted merely on the levelling principle—νὸμοθετῆσαι δὲ ταὐτα δοκᾶσιν οἱ Αθηναῖοι ὰκ ἵνα τὴν κακίαν κολαζῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ φρονημάτα ταπεινοτερα γενῆται δία τὴν φὺγην· " the Athenians adopted not this inſtitu- " tion with a view to puniſhment, ſo much as with an idea that ſpirits too " high and ſoaring ſhould be ſent to evaporate in exile. Diod. Sic. Lib. 11.

Many

CHAP. VIII.

Many writers who have treated ſuperficially of hiſtorical ſubjects, have cenſured the oſtraciſm of Athens, either becauſe their minds were warped by enthuſiaſtic admiration of the exiled heroes; or becauſe they had not duly ſtudied the free conſtitution of Athens, the genuine principle of the oſtraciſtic inſtitution, and its relation to that conſtitution of government; or laſtly becauſe they were partizans of deſpotiſm from habit, or enemies to freedom from prejudice: every political writer of ſound intellect, adequate learning, and unfettered genius, hath payed the tribute of praiſe to the oſtraciſm. I have begun this note with introducing to the reader the authority of Ariſtotle, I will cloſe it with that of Monteſquieu: à Athènes ou le legiſlateur avait ſenti l'extenſion et les bornes qu'il devoit donner a ſa loi, l'oſtraciſme fut une choſe admirable; on n'y ſoumettoit jamais qu'un ſeul perſonne; il falloit un ſi grand nombre de ſuffrages, qu'il etoit difficile qu'on exilât quelqu'un dont l'abſence ne fût pas neceſſaire.

L. Eſprit des Loix, Liv. 29. Chap. 7.

NOTE [57.] Page 66.

Ma l'ingiuſte calumnie e tanto ardite
Contrà al buon' Cittadin tal volta fanno,
  Tirannico uno ingegno humano e mite;
Speſſo diventa un Cittadin' Tirranno,
E di viver' civil' trapaſſa il ſegno,
  Per non ſentir' d'ingratitudo il danno.

Machiav. Capit. d' ingrat.

NOTE [58.] Page 68.

CHAP. IX.

. . . . ἔτω καὶ της ψυχης ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό δε ἀλόγον καὶ τὸ λόγον ἐχον, καὶ τὰς ἕξεις τάς τέτων δύο τόν ἀριθμον, ὧν πό μεν ἐστιν ὀρεξις, τό δε νόος.—" the

CHAP. IX.

" ſoul we find to be compoſed of two parts, the rational and the " irrational; and the ſecondary parts are likewiſe two, volition and " intellect." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 7. Cap. 15.

Note [59.] Page 68.

It is a ſingular fact that the Spartan people were obliged ultimately to yield even the palm of gymnaſtic addreſs, and martial proweſs to *the more enlightened* Commonwealths: Ariſtotle having adopted a courſe of reaſoning analogous to that in the text, mentions the above fact in ſupport of his argument; the authenticity of which he could not be miſtaken in. ἐτε γὰρ ἐν τοις ἀλλοις ζῳοις ἔτ' ἐπι των ἐθνῶν ορῶμεν τὴν ανδρίαν ἀκολοθῆσαν τοις ἀγρίωταις, ἀλλα μᾶλλον τοις ἡμέρωταις ϗ λεοντῶδεσιν ἐθεσι. . . . αὐτὰς τὰς Λακωνας ἴσμεν ἐως μέν αὐτοι προσηδρευον ταὶς φιλοπονίαις, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἀλλων, νὺν δέ ϗ τοὶς γυμνασιοις, ϗ τοις πολεμίκοις ἀγωσι λειπομένας ἑτέρων. —" neither in other creatures, nor in mankind do we experience that " force and fortitude are at all times concomitant with ſavage ferocity, " but rather with temperate and humanized manners:—thus the Lace- " demonians, though in full practice of their laborious inſtitutions " they were a while ſuperiour, yet now even in gymnaſtic and martial " exerciſes they are far behind. Ibidem.

NOTE [60.] Page 69.

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἠὔξαντο. δηλοῖ δέ ϗ καθ' ἑυμόνον ἀλλα πανταχῆ ἡ ἰσογόρια ὡς ἐστι χρῆμα σπουδαίον, ἐι γὰρ ἀθηναῖοι τυραννευόμενοι, μὲν ἐδαμων τῶν σφέας περιοικεόντων ἔσαν τά πολεμία ἀμεῖνες, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δέ τυραννων μακρῳ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο· Herodot. Terpſich.—So too Machiavel—'facil' coſa è conoſcere onde naſca nei popoli queſta affettione di viver' libero, perché ſi vede per eſperienza le cittadi non aver' mai ampliati, ne di dominio ne di richezza, ſe non mentre ſono ſtate in libertá; è veramente maravigliosa coſa è conſiderare a quanta grandezza venne Athene per ſpazio di cento anni, poi che ella ſi liberó.

Mach. Diſcorſ. L. 2. Cap. 2.

NOTE

CHAP. IX.

NOTE [61.] Page 70.

Fifty one years elapſed from the firſt uſurpation to the expulſion of Hippias, Piſiſtratus's reign, including the interregna, was thirty three years,—ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα οἱ παῖδες—" that of his ſons eighteen years."
Ariſtot. Pol. L. 5. Cap. 12.

NOTE [62.] Page 70.

. . . La vertu dans une republique eſt une choſe trés ſimple, c'eſt l'amour de la republique, c'eſt un ſentiment et non une ſuite de connoiſſance, le dernier homme de l'etat peut avoir ce ſentiment, comme le premier. L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 5. Cap 2.

NOTE [63.] Page 73.

CHAP. X.

Monteſquieu's definition of liberty is as follows:—" Il eſt vrai que dans les democraties le peuple paroit faire ce qu'il veut, mais la liberté politique ne conſiſte point a faire ce que l'on veut; dans un etat, c'eſt a dire, dans une ſocieté ou il y a des loix, la liberté ne peut conſiſter qu'a pouvoir faire ce que l'on doit vouloir, et a n'etre point contraint a faire ce que l'on ne doit point vouloir." L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 11. C. 3. This definition appears to me but vague;—indeed Monteſquieu ſeems never to have fixed, or to have been ſatisfied, with his idea of civil liberty; after various poſitions he almoſt does away civil liberty in fact, by leaving it in opinion:—" La liberté philoſophique conſiſte dans l'exercice de ſa volonté, ou du moins (s'il faut parler dans tous les ſyſtemes) dans l'opinion ou l'on eſt, que l'on exerce ſa volonté:—la liberté politique conſiſte dans ſa ſureté, ou du moins, dans l'opinion que l'on a de ſa ſureté." L. 12. C. 2.—Surely this ſentence is trifling and unworthy of that great author!

CHAP. X.

NOTE [64.] Page 74.

ἥδε πόλις ἐστι κοινωνία τὶς των ὁμοίων ἑνέκα δε ζωὴς της ἐνδεχομένης ἀρίστης . . . δηλον ὡς τεῦ' αἴτιον τᾦ γιγνέσθαι πολεως εἰδῆ καὶ διαφόρας, καὶ πολιτείας πλείας. ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον καὶ δι' ἄλλον ἑκάστοι ζῆλο θηρευόντες τας τέ βίυς ἑτερας ποιεῦνται καὶ πολιτείας· " a ſtate is a community of men united for the purpoſe of attaining " what ſeems happieſt and beſt for them; now this is the true cauſe of " the forms, of the varieties, and of the viciſſitudes of conſtitutions " of government; for men entertaining diverſe ideas of the thing to " be attained, and of the mode of attaining it, adopt accordingly " different manners of life, and different forms of political conſtitu- " tion." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 7. C. 8.

NOTE [65.] Page 74.

The poſition in the text is true and juſt, yet exceptions to the rule may be admitted;—it may with reaſon be obſerved, that under particular circumſtances a partial reſtriction of emigrants may be juſtified by political expediency,—and in certain caſes that a general reſtrictive rule may be politically juſt:—in the firſt inſtance alluded to, the " ne " exeat regno," is applicable to ſuch men as are peculiarly neceſſary to the ſtate, as ſhipwrights, certain artizans and others:—in the ſecond caſe it is applicable to all ſuch as from their ſituations or by their actions are *reſponſible* to the ſtate, or *amenable* to its laws.

NOTE [66.] Page 82.

CHAP. XI.

Ægina was a commercial ſtate of the higheſt antiquity; It was the firſt which coined money, and money was thence called Αἰγινάιον—

πρῶτον νόμισμα ἐκόψαντο, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλήθη νόμισμα Αἰγιναῖον· Ælian. V. H. Lib. 12. Cap. 10. So too Strabo—ἐν Αἰγείνῃ πρῶτον ἀργυροῦν κοπῆναι ὑπο φειδωνος· Lib. 8.—the Æginetans corrupted by commercial habits, ſeem to have filled the place in ancient communities, which the Jews fill in modern; I need not comment on a fact mentioned by Herodotus, "that after the battle of Platæa, whatever plate and other valuables "were ſtolen at the Perſian camp by the Helots, ſlaves and others, "were purchaſed at an under price by the Æginetans.

CHAP. XI.

NOTE [67.] Page 84.

Pythia reſpondet, ut *mœnibus ligneis* (Athenienſes) ſe munirent; id reſponſum quo valeret, quum intelligeret nemo, Themiſtocles perſuaſit conſilium eſſe Apollinis ut in *naves* ſe ſuaque conferrent.

Corn. Nep. vit. Themiſt.

NOTE [68.] Page 86.

Pauſanias, *in Achaicis*, ſays—"that Theſeus when he firſt congregated "the people in Athens, inſtituted the feſtival of *Panathenæa*:"—the Athenian feſtivals were extremely numerous; Xenophon in his treatiſe on the republic of Athens, ſays they were twice the number of thoſe in any other ſtate, and that they much impeded public buſineſs; hence Athens was termed by the oracle, "the common altar piece of Greece," την κοινην ἑστιαν της ελλαδός· Ælian. L. 4. C. 6.—the feſtival of the *Panathenæa* according to the beſt accounts was firſt inſtituted by Ericthonius, or, as ſome ſay, by Orpheus, and was afterwards more ſplendidly endowed by Theſeus; and as before that king called the people together in Athens, neither the celebrity nor ceremonies of the feſtival were extraordinary, this might give occaſion to Pauſanias to call him the inſtitutor; the grand feſtival (for there were others ſecondary and annual) was held every fifth year, and the victors prize in the games was a jar of oil, the ſtaple produce of Attica, and from the fruit ſacred to the tutelary Minerva. Vid. Meurs. de hoc feſto.

CHAP. XI.

Speaking of the very numerous religious ceremonies in Athens, they may readily be accounted for, in the conſideration of the various countries, from which the original ſettlers came, and who had each their ſpecial object of worſhip; and when under Theſeus the people left their villages and came to Athens, thoſe of each family and diſtrict introduced their own particular deity and religious cuſtoms; and thence in tracing the genealogy of any great man, Herodotus and Diodorus often reſort to the queſtion "of what Divinity he was wont to ſacrifice to?"

NOTE [69.] Page 86.

Miltiades requeſted that his name might be inſcribed under his portrait, but was refuſed as being too great a diſtinction.

Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſiph.

NOTE [70.] Page 86.

—Debet enim honor non merces facinoris eſſe, ſed ſignum.

Senec. Ep.

NOTE [71.] Page 87.

Ne fu già ſola Roma ingrata al tutto,
Riguarda Athene dove ingratitudo
Poſe il ſuo nido, piu ch' altrove brutto;
Miltiade, Ariſtide, e Phocione,
De Themiſtocle ancor' la dura ſorte
Son' del' vivcr' ſuo buon' teſtimone.

Machiav. Cap. d'ingrat.

NOTE [72.] Page 88.

e non ſenza cagione ſi aſſomiglia la voce del' popolo a quella d'iddio, perche ſi vede una opinione univerſale fare effetti maravigliosi nei pronoſtichi

noſtichi ſuoi, tal' che pare che per occulta virtú prevegga il ſuo male è il ſuo bene. Machiav. Diſc. L. 1. C. 58. CHAP. XI.

The like is the ſentiment of Ariſtotle—τῆς γὰρ πόλλας ὢν ἕκαστος ἐστιν ὁ σπουδαῖος ἀνὴρ, ὁμως ἐνδεχέσθαι συνελθοντες εἶναι βελτίους ἐκείνων, ἢ ὡς ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς συμπάντας. . . . . εἶναι γὰρ ἕκαστος μέν χειρων κριτης των ειδότων, ἅπαντες δε συνέλθοντες ἢ βελτιῶς ἢ ὁ χειρῶς των ολιγαρχίας μελεγηκότων· "The many "being compoſed of parts, of which each part be ſeverally incompe- "tent, yet may the whole be competent to wiſdom in its aggregate "capacity; the aſſembly ſhall be ſuperiour, though its conſtituents "ſeparately taken be inferiour in policy to any one ſtateſman:—each "and by himſelf ſhall judge worſe than a well educated man, but the "whole and together ſhall decide better, or certainly not worſe than a "cabinet of oligarchy." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 7.

NOTE [73.] Page 88.

Intervenne bene ad Athene il contrario che a Roma, perche eſſendole tolta la libertá dal Piſiſtrato nel ſuo piu fiorito tempo, e ſotto un inganno di bontá, come prima ella divenne poi libera, ricordandoſi delle ingiurie ricevute, divenne aſpera vendicatrice, non ſolamente degli errori, ma dell' ombra degli errori de ſuoi cittadini.—(et infrà)—i popoli mordono piu fieramento poi che eſſi hanno recuperata la libertá, che poi che l'hanno conſervata. Mach. Diſc. L. 1. C. 28.

NOTE [74.] Page 89.

This ſpeech of Artabanus from Herodotus, as well as the whole debate of the other Perſian chiefs, is well worth referring to,—the ſpeech in the text is generally an epitome of the ſpeech in council, with a paſſage or two inſerted from the diſcourſe of Artabanus at Sardis, and the very ſublime ſentence which cloſes the oration is literally tranſlated. —οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ Θέος ἢ ἑωὑτον· CHAP. XII.

NOTE

NOTE [75.] Page 90.

The number in the text is taken from Juſtin, as the *medium* of the account given by ancient writers of this vaſt army, and taken as the total of that army allowing for recruits, after having paſſed Mount Athos. The numbers of the army of Xerxes form ſo intereſting a ſubject in a philoſophical and chronological, as well as in an hiſtorical point of view, that ſome aſcertainment thereof might be deſirable; yet it is not to be attained: for I think we cannot follow Herodotus; and yet, leaving him, we leave out the only detail we have of this army. Herodotus eſtimates the land forces muſtered at Doriſcus, to have amounted to one million eight hundred thouſand fighting men; and by the recruits joining on the march to Thermopylæ, to have encreaſed to two million one hundred thouſand: the fleet he computes at twelve hundred and ſeven ſhips of war, each ſhip having a complement of two hundred and thirty men, ſailors and marines; and three thouſand tranſports and victuallers having each eighty ſeamen; with thoſe in the ſhips of war, forming a total of about five hundred and forty thouſand ſeamen, which added to the land army, make two million ſix hundred and forty thouſand: to theſe the hiſtorian adds a groſs computation of ſervants, ſutlers, and other military followers to nearly an equal amount, and thus calculates the force of Xerxes—*at five million two hundred and eighty-three thouſand two hundred and twenty men*:—*beſides* a multitude of women, eunuchs, and ſlaves, which (he ſays) no one could number.

We can ſcarcely give credit to this account of Herodotus, for the obvious reaſon, that no one ancient author has adopted it, and that even his countrymen did *not* give it credit, however from vain glory inclined ſo to do: Iſocrates, whoſe buſineſs was amplification on ſuch a ſubject, calls the multitude who followed Xerxes five million, and probably in this computation he enumerated the women and eunuchs, for he ſpecifies the military force to have conſiſted of only *ſeven hundred thouſand*. Πεντακοσίας μυριάδας των πάντων, εβδόμηκοντα δὲ των μαχίμων. Diodorus Siculus ſtates the army at eight hundred thouſand, or *rather more*—

more—μυριάδες πλείους των ογδοήκοντα.—Cteſias, at eight hundred thouſand, *beſides* the armed chariots: admitting theſe "*corps de reſerve*," I have followed the epitomiſt of Trogus, who Lib. ii. Cap. 10. ſtates the army of Xerxes at *one million*.

Herodotus exaggerated his account, probably to flatter the Greeks before whom he recited his hiſtories at the Olympian games: Cteſias, who, according to Diodorus, Lib. 2. had the keeping of the Perſian Archives, in which the muſter probably was regiſtered, might be ſuſpected of falſifying the account, and of diminiſhing the numbers of the Perſian army, in order to ſooth the national feelings of its diſcomfiture and loſs, or at leaſt to flatter the pride of his royal maſter, Artaxerxes: yet this ſeems not to have been the opinion of the Greek and other ancient writers, who adopted nearly his account and enumeration. In regard to the fleet, Herodotus, and the other authors above cited, tally nearly in the mention of ſomething above twelve hundred ſail: Cteſias indeed mentions but one thouſand ſhips of war; yet in this too his credit is preſerved by a paſſage in the "*Perſai*" of Æſchylus, in which the poet ſpeaks of the other two hundred ſhips as light armed veſſels, probably correſpondent to our frigates, and which in the Perſian Archives might not therefore have been enumerated *with the line*. It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that Æſchylus was preſent at the engagement of Salamis, and that his tragedy "*the Perſai*" was repreſented early as eight years after the battle of Platæa; theſe circumſtances ſtamp the following lines, and indeed every line of that tragedy referring to facts, with the ſeal of accuracy and truth. The warrior could not be miſtaken, the poet dared not falſify,--he had witneſſes to confront him on every ſeat of the theatre.

Πληθυς μέν ἀν σαφ' ἴσθ' ἑκάτι βαρβαρυς
Νᾶυσι κραίῆσαι. ϰὴ γὰρ ἔλλησι μέν ἦν
Ὁ πας ἀριθμος ἐς τριακάδας δέκα
Νὰων. δέκας δ' ἦν των τε χωρίς ἔγκραῖος.
Ξερξῃ δε, ϰὴ γὰρ οἰδα, χίλιας μεν ἦν
Ὧν ἦγε πλήθυς, αἱ τ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει
Ἑκαῖὸν δις ἦσαν. ἑπτα θ'. ὧδ' ἐχει λόγος.

Περται. V. 337.

"Know

CHAP. XII.

" Know then, in numbers, the Barbaric fleet
" Was far ſuperior; in ten ſquadrons, each
" Of thirty ſhips, Greece plough'd the deep, of theſe
" One held a diſtant ſtation: Xerxes led
" *A thouſand ſhips*; (their number well I know)
" Two hundred and ſeven more that ſwept the ſeas
" With ſpeedieſt ſail:—this was their full amount."

Potter.

NOTE [76.] Page 91.

Says Plato, alluding to this criſis—επι δε τοις ελπίδος ἐχουμένοι ταυτης, ευρίσκον καλαφύγην αὐλοις, εις αὐλης μονης ἔιναι κ᾽ τες Θέες.

Plat. de Leg. L. 3.

NOTE [77.] Page 92.

At the ſea fight near Artemiſium, the Greeks had about two hundred ſhips, ſixty of which were Athenian. Iſocrat. Paneg.

NOTE [78.] Page 93.

The expreſſion of Iſocrates on occaſion of the ſeceſſion from Athens is beautiful and energetic; it is in the oration compoſed for Archidamus of Sparta, and the word ἡμιν refers to the Spartans.—Ἐκλιπονλες δέ κ᾽ την πολιν κ᾽ την χῶραν, κ᾽ πατριδα μεν την ἐλευθερίαν νομίσανλες κοινωνησανλες δέ των κινδυνων ἡμιν. " Leaving their native ſoil and city, and re-
" garding their country as comprized in their liberty (the Athenians)
" left themſelves nothing to ſhare with us in, but the common danger."

Iſocrat. Archid. Orat.

NOTE [79.] Page 95.

From the paſſage of Æſchylus above cited, it appears that the Grecian fleet conſiſted of three hundred ſail; it does not ſeem eaſy to aſcertain

certain the exact proportion of the Athenian ſquadron. Diodorus, Lib. 11. makes it an hundred and forty; Cteſias ſays an hundred and ten of the ſhips only were Athenian; Herodotus in Urania, an hundred and twenty; Cornelius Nepos, two hundred: adhering to the authority of Æſchylus as to the numbers of the whole Grecian fleet, we ſhould adopt the number of Athenian ſhips given us by Nepos: for that the republic had a greater number of ſhips than all the other Greek ſtates united, is repeatedly and ſtrongly aſſerted by Iſocrates, and others; and having no mean number ſtated by any hiſtorian, between that of one hundred and forty given us by Diodorus, and the two hundred alluded to, we muſt even take the latter, though greater than is neceſſary, to tally with the expreſſion of Iſocrates—ἡ πόλις ἡμων ἀναξαίος γενομένη πλειῶς μεν συνεβαλέτο τριήρεις εἰς τὸν κινδυνὸν ὑπερ της ἑλλαδος ἡ συμπάντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες· Iſocrat. paneg. Cteſias ſays that at the ſea fight of Salamis the Perſian fleet conſiſted but of ſeven hundred ſhips: Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 11. computes the Aſiatic Greek ſquadron at about three hundred ſail;—ſuppoſing that ſquadron to have kept aloof, we have another proof of the accuracy of Cteſias. In this battle the ſame author ſays the Perſians loſt five hundred ſhips.

Cteſias in Perſicis.

NOTE [80.] Page 96.

Themiſtocles, victo Xerxe, volentes ſuos pontem rumpere prohibuit, cum docuiſſet potius eſſe eum expelli Europâ, quam cogi ex deſperatione pugnare: idem miſit ad eum qui indicaret, in quo periculo eſſet, niſi fugam maturaret. Frontin. Stratagem. L. 2. C. 10.

NOTE [81.] Page 97.

Il ne faut pas beaucoup de probité pour qu'un gouvernement monarchique, ou un gouvernement deſpotique, ſe maintiennent ou ſe ſoutiennent; la force des loix dans l'un, le bras du prince toujours levé dans l'autre reglent ou contiennent tout, mais dans un etat populaire, il faut un reſſort di plus, qui eſt la vertu.

CHAP. XII.

L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 3. C. 3.—Had Monteſquieu left the above ſentence preciſely as it ſtands, and without further expoſition, it is clear, intelligible and true; there was ſurely no occaſion to qualify, or rather to explain away, the whole ſenſe and force of the expreſſion:—the paſſage I allude, and object to, is—" dans l'avertiſſement de l'auteur,"—Il faut obſerver que ce que j'apelle la vertu dans la republique, eſt l'amour de la patrie, c'eſt a dire l'amour de l'egalité, ce n'eſt point une vertu morale.—How doth this accord with a firſt principle of his ſyſtem, that private virtue is the baſis of public!—how doth it agree with the following ſentence?—l'amour de la patrie conduit a la bonté des mœurs, et la bonté des mœurs conduit a l'amour de la patrie. Chap. 2.—Monteſquieu makes public and private virtue, *connected* and *reciprocative*,—how then is public virtue, not a moral virtue?

Ariſtotle is the moſt correct writer on political ſubjects I have ever read; and his *Politica* merit the eulogium beſtowed on them, by Dr. Taylor in his treatiſe of Civil Law,—" that they form the moſt ſterling " work bequeathed us by antiquity."—ſays Ariſtotle—φανερὸν ὡς ἐν τῃ καλλίστῃ πολιτευομένῃ πόλει καὶ τῃ κεκλημένῃ δικαίως ἀνδρας ἁπλως εἶναι·—" It is " demonſtrable that in a commonwealth, well inſtituted, adminiſ- " tered, and eſtabliſhed, that the citizens muſt be juſt and good men." Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 7. C. 9. meaning no doubt, that otherwiſe its adminiſtration muſt be incompetent, its eſtabliſhment ſubverted, and—in a word—the premiſes be diſſolved.

NOTE [82.] Page 99.

Herodotus expatiates on the reſpect ſhown to the corpſe of Mardonius: Cteſias ſays Mardonius eſcaped—καὶ φευγε τραυματισθεις καὶ Μαρδόνιος. Pauſanias contradicts both, ſaying that Mardonius was killed, and that the Greeks refuſed his body for burial.—It were well if like variance of authorities never rendered diſputable, facts of greater importance than the fate of Mardonius, or of Mardonius's carcaſe!

NOTE

NOTE [83.] Page 102.

CHAP. XIII.

(In Ægypt. Itin.)—Cæterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuêre, Memnonis ſaxea effigies, ubi radiis ſolis icta eſt, vocalem ſonum reddens. Tacit. Ann. 2. Pliny Hiſt. Nat. L. 10. Cap. 26. and Pauſanias in Atticis, and Strabo likewiſe mention this Phœnomenon;—probably of prieſt-craft.

NOTE [84.] Page 103.

The Spartan candidate for a ſenatorial ſeat, who when rejected, exclaimed, "happy am I, that there are three hundred citizens in "Sparta more worthy than myſelf!" was a genuine citizen of a free republic. All idea of ſelf-diſtinction, as well as of ſelf-intereſt, in matters wherein the commonwealth is concerned, ſhould be baniſhed from the mind of each conſtituent; to whoſe patriotiſm, as to whoſe virtue, the internal ſentiment of duty, the approbation of conſcience, and the acknowledgments of his countrymen rather implied by their private affection, and public confidence, than manifeſted by adulatory offerings and decrees, ſhould be the only motives and only rewards: external retributions of merit, even if warily beſtowed, incite envy and pride, and beget ſuch dangerous diſtinctions, as leave the popular aſſembly impaſſioned or ſubſervient; I ſhould ſay to every citizen in the words of Tully.—"non debes aut propriam fortunam, aut præ-"cipuam poſtulare, aut communem recuſare.

Epiſt. Fam. L. 4. Ep. 15.

CHAP. XIII.

NOTE [85.] Page 105.

Hippodamus was the architect or engineer who planned the ſeparate fortification of the Piræeus. Ariſt. Pol. L. 2. C. 9.—The Piræeus had three harbours or inlets for ſhipping, and in honour of his having firſt appropriated it to the Athenian navy, inſtead of the port Phaleron; the tomb of Themiſtocles was raiſed on the beach of the larger harbour. Pauſan. in Att. ſub, init.

NOTE [86.] Page 108.

" Governments ever ſhould be inſtituted with a view to the happi-
" neſs of the conſtituents." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 7. C. 9.—If this axiom is juſt, the Spartan ſtate might be an object of admiration, but not of approbation; its internal infelicity cannot be more ſtrongly marked than in the words attributed to Alcibiades:—ελεγε δέ μηδεν παραδοξον ποιειν Λακεδαιμονιους αδέως εν τω πολεμω αποθνησκοντας, την γαρ εκ των νόμων ταλαιπωριαν αποδιδρασκοντες θάναλον υπερ των πόνων εχουσι προθυμαις αλλαττεσθαι· " He was wont to ſay, that there was nothing
" ſo extraordinary in the Lacedemonians dying fearleſsly in battle,
" for conſidering the miſery they ſuffered under their inſtitutions at
" home, they might well chuſe death in exchange for ſuch a life."
Ælian. Var. Hiſt. L. 13. Cap. 28.

NOTE [87.] Page 116.

CHAP. XIV.

—δ δια τουτο δει τον νομοθέτην επαινειν, οτι κρατειν ησκησεν επι το των τέλας αρχειν. ταυτα γαρ μεγαλην εχει βλαβην. δηλον γαρ οτι και των πολιτων τω δυναμένω τουτο πειραλέον

πειραλέον διῶκειν ὁπως δυνῆται της οἰκειας πολέως ἀρχειν· " The legiſlator is " no ways to be praiſed, for that he ſows ſuch ſeeds as may produce a " ſpirit of foreign conqueſt and domination; great may be the evils " thence enſuing; for it will neceſſarily follow, that among many " citizens accuſtomed to tyrannize abroad, one may be found who will " attempt to tyrannize at home." Ariſtot. Pol. L. 7. C. 14. CHAP. XIV.

NOTE [88.] Page 125.

. . . Θαλαττης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβον δὸντων μέν ἀλλων ἑλλήνων. . . . Iſocrates further explains the nature of this empire of the ſeas, obſerving that the Athenians had the command and controul of all general concerns and meaſures, touching the iſlands and maritime ſtates,---each ſtate being yet interiourly free and independant,---ὁλων μέν των πραγμαὶων ἐπισαὶδνὶες, ἰδια δέ ἑκαστος ἐλευθέρους ἐῶνὶες ἐιναι· Paneg. under circumſtances of the general ſupremacy, ſuch ſort of independency was however, a mere ſufferance. CHAP. XV.

NOTE [89.] Page 126.

---πᾶσων δε πὸλεων Ἀθῆναι μαλιστα πεφὺκασιν ἐν ἔιρηνῃ αυξἐσθαι·

Xenoph. περι προσοδων. C. 4. S. 2.

NOTE [90.] Page 126.

Ἰὴν μεν καὶα γὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπ' ἐυὶαξιας καὶ σωφροσυνης καὶ πειθαρχίας, καὶ τὸν ἀλλων των τοιὅτων μελεὶωμένην. τὴν δε καὶα Θαλατὶαν δὺναμιν ἐκ ἐκ τοὺτων ἀὺξὰνομην, ἀλλ' ἐκ των τὲχνων πέρι τας ναῦς, καὶ των ἐλαὕνειν ἀὺιὸς δυναμένων, καὶ των τα σφέτερα μεν ἀὺιων ἀπολωλέκοὶων, ἐκ δε των ἀλλοὶρίων ποριζὲσθαι τὸν βίον ἐιθὶσμενων. ὡν ἐισπέσοὺιων ἐις την πὸλιν ἐκ ἀδήλος ἦν τε κὸσμος ὁ της πρὸὶερον παρχὅσης πολὶὶείας λυθὴσομενος. . . &c.---" the intereſts of a territorial

" ſovereignty

CHAP. XV.

" ſovereignty are guarded and promoted by a ſpirit of good order, " moderation, obedience to the laws, and ſuch like virtues; but a " maritime power becomes not great from ſuch ſources, but from the " naval arts of building ſhips, and of thoſe who man and work them; " and of thoſe who having diſſipated or loſt their all, ſeek repriſals " from the fortunes of others; and theſe being mingled in the maſs of " the ſtate, it is evident that ſuch arrangements as thoſe ſupporting " the inland power above alluded to, muſt give way to them, and be " diſſolved. Iſocrat. Orat. περι Ειρηνης.

Note [91.] Page 128.

ε γὰρ ψηφίσμασιν, ἀλλα τοις ἤθεσι καλως οἰκεῖσθαι τας πόλεις. ibidem.

NOTE [92.] Page 130.

ἔτω δέ ἀπεχόνλο των της πόλεως ὡσε χαλεπωλέρον ἦν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοις χρόνοις ἔυρειν τας βελομενας ἄρχειν ἢ νὺν τας μὴδεν δεομενας. Iſocrat. Orat. Areopag. Admitting there to be no hyperbolé in the expreſſion of Iſocrates, there is none in that of Seneca,—" in quâ civitate erat Areopagus religio- " ſiſſimum judicium, in quâ Senatus, *populuſque Senatui ſimilis.*"

Senec. de Tranquill. Anim.

NOTE [93.] Page 131.

ἐκ ἦν ὦ φίλοι ἡμῖν ἐπί των παλαιων νόμων ὁ δημος τινων Κύριος ἀλλα τρόπον τίνα ἔκων ἐδέλεσε τοις νομοις. . . . . .

καὶ ὥρὸς τέλοις δὴ τὸ μέγεθος τε σόλε καὶα τε γῆν καὶ καὶα θαλάτλαν γινομένον φόβον ἀπεῖρον ἐμβάλον, δελειαν ἐτί μείζονα ἐποῖησεν ἥμας τοις τόλε ἀρχεσι, καὶ τοις νόμοις δελεῦσαι, καὶ δία ταὺτα πάνθ' ἡμῖν ξυνεπέσε πρὸς ἡμας αὐτες σφοδρά φιλία.

Plato de Legibus, Lib. 3.

NOTE

CHAP. XV.

NOTE [94.] Page 134.

Auſſi les bonnes democraties en établiſſantes la frugalité domeſtique, ont elles ouvertes la porte aux depenſes publiques, comme on fit à Athenes et Rome ; pour lors la magnificence et la profuſion naiſſaient du fond de la frugalité même. L'Eſprit des Loix, L. 5. C. 3.

Monteſquieu purſues not the ſubject to ſuch deduction as inferred in the text ; but in another place he ſays,—a meſure que le luxe s'établit dans une republique, l'Eſprit ſe tourne vers l'intêret particulier. L. 7. Chap. 2.—Luxury and the fine arts cheriſh mutually each other ; the excellencies of the painter, the ſtatuary, and the architect, raiſe and ſupport that vanity of patronage which ſupports them ; from the eye to the ear, to the taſte, reciprocative paſſions thus mingle and multiply, till the meaſure of luxury is filled to the top, and the republic is weakened and finally diſſolved by its corruptive influence.

NOTE [95.] Page 138.

CHAP. XVI.

Grandis, et ut ita dicam, pudica oratio, eſt maculoſa nec turgida, ſed naturali pulchritudine exſurgit : nuper ventoſa iſthæc et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Aſiâ commigravit, animoſque juvenum ad magna ſurgentes, veluti peſtilenti quodam ſidere afflavit ; ſimulque corruptæ eloquentiæ regula ſtetit et obtinuit : quis poſtea, ad ſummam Thucydidis, quis Hypéridis ad famam proceſſit ? ac ne carmen quidem ſani coloris enituit, ſed omnia quaſi eodem cibo paſta non potuerunt uſque ad ſenectutem caneſcere : pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, poſtquàm Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiariam fecit. Petron. Satyricon. Cap. 2. Thus too Quinctilian complains of the hyperbolé and *points* creeping into the ſtile of the times, through the example of Seneca.—" Multæ in eo claræque ſententiæ, multa " etiam morum gratiâ legenda, ſed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque ;

CHAP. XVI.

" atque eo pernicioſiſſima, quòd abundant *dulcibus vitiis*." Quinctil. Inſt. Orat. L. 10. Cap. 1.

NOTE [96.] Page 138.

Literature and contemplation are the proper "*ſolatia rerum*" of each mind of ſerious bent, of refined education, and of virtuous ſenſibility, when agitated in ſcenes of civil commotion, or driven from ſociety by diſguſt of anarchy, or terrors of deſpotiſm.—Quamvis hæc ſunt miſera, quæ ſunt miſerrima tempora tamen artes noſtræ, neſcio quomodo, nunc uberiores fructus ferre videantur, quàm olim ferebant; ſive quia nullâ nunc in re aliâ acquieſcimus, ſive quòd gravitas morbi facit, ut medicinæ egeamus, eaque nunc appareat, cujus vim non ſentiebamus, quùm valebamus, Cic. Ep. Fam. L. 9. Ep. 3. . . . . ſed eſt unum perfugium doctrinæ ac literæ quibus ſemper uſi ſumus, quæ ſecundis rebus delectationem, modo habere videbantur, nunc vero etiam ſalutem. Ejuſd. L. 6. Ep. 12. The above elegant and meditative ſentences ſpoke Cicero's ſenſe of the comfort and reſources he derived from philoſophy and the love of letters, during a period of civil commotion; the ſame reſources ſuited ſimilar minds during the uſurpation and deſpotiſm that ſucceeded; the philoſophy of the ſtoics thrived under the tyranny of the Cæſars; Thraſea, Helvidius, the hero of that ſect Epictetus, and many others in thoſe times exerciſed the mind by moral meditation, and invigorated their tenets by the rigid practice of the virtue they taught: nor on *account of his works*, ſhould the name of Seneca be omitted;—nor too on account of *his virtues*, as well as of his wiſdom; for it is more in nature that the hiſtorian Dion Caſſius ſhould be malevolent, than that a writer and his writings ſhould be ſo at variance: a bad man might write a good book, but a bad man could not, I think, write ſo many books, invariably good, or ſo many familiar epiſtles, nor in any one betray a levity of thought, or even an inconſiſtency of expreſſion.

NOTE

NOTE [97.] Page 139.

. . . Τὰ μεν γαρ ἀναγκαῖα, τὴν χρειᾶν διδάσκειν εἰκος ἀυλην. τὰ δ' εἰς ευσχημοσυνην καὶ περίουσίαν, ὑπαρχόνλων ἤδη τῶτων, ἐυλόγον λαμβάνειν ἀυξησιν· "what "is neceſſary to life, neceſſity will be the teacher of; what belongs to elegance and ſuperfluity, will follow and increaſe on the accompliſhment of the firſt. Ariſtot. Pol. L. 7. Cap. 10.

NOTE [98.] Page 140.

—Pliny calls the Laocoön—" opus omnibus et picturæ et ſtatuariæ "artis præferendum." Var. Hiſt. L. 36. cap. 5. The artiſts were Ageſander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus of Rhodes.

NOTE [99.] Page 141.

Anaxagoras was a moral philoſopher, and likewiſe a phyſiologiſt: the moſt famous opinion of Anaxagoras and which has been commented on by Ariſtotle in his '*Phyſics*,' was,—" that all things (or elements) "were mingled and confuſed, when divine mind or ſpirit directed "their order and arrangement;"—πάνλα χρήμαλα ἦν ὁμᾶ, ἔἶλα νοῦς ἐλθων ταὐτα διεκὸσμησε·—Other opinions likewiſe of this ſpeculative genius remarkably anticipate the knowledge of a more enlightened age; as for inſtance,—that "the moon had hills and vales, and might be habita- "ble;"—that "comets were planets, emitting flame;"—that "the cauſe "of winds was the rarefaction of the air by the ſun;"—that "thunder "and lightning proceeded from the colliſion and confriction of "clouds;"—that "earthquakes were cauſed by confined air within the "body of the earth,"—&c. &c.—τὴν Σελὴνην οἰκῆσεις ἐχειν ἄλλα καὶ λὸφας καὶ φαραγγας.—τας δὲ κομὴτας σὺνοδον πλανὴτων φλὸγας αφιέναι.—ἀνεμους γιγνέσθαι λεπλυνομένε τᾶ ἀερος ὑπο τᾶ ἥλιε.—βρονὶας συγκρούσιν νέφων.—ἀστραπας ἐκλείψιν νέφων.—σεῖσμον 'υπονοσὶησιν ἀερος εἰς γὴν·—&c.—Diog. Laert. Vit.

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Anaxag.—on theſe ſubjects, vid. Traité ſur L'Origine des Sciences par Mon'. Bailly.

NOTE [100.] Page 142.

—μεχρὶ γὰρ τῶδε ἀνέκλοι οἱ ἐπαίνοι εἶσι πέρι ἑτερων λεγομένοι, ὁσον, ὀν κ᾽ αὐλος ἑκὰςος οἴηλαι ἱκανος εἶναι δρᾶσαι τί ὠν ἠκασε·

Orat. fun. ap. Thucyd. L. 3.

NOTE [101.] Page 143.

—ὡσε ἐμφὰσιν ποιειν, ἐαν ὀρθῶς γενῆται, δ᾽ ἀνὰςας ἀποςέγασειν τον νὰον.

Strabo. Lib. 8.

Ἡ κ᾽ κυανεησιν ἐπ᾽ ὀφρὺσι νευσε Κρονιων
Ἀμβρόσιαι δ᾽ ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρῶσανλο ἀνακλος,
Κρὰτος απ᾽ Αθὰναλοιο. μέγαν δ᾽ ἐλελὶξεν Ὀλὺμπον·

Hom. Il. α. v. 528.

NOTE [102.] Page 143.

Winckelman was antiquarian to the Pope Ganganelli, and had all the remains of antiquity before him; in his opinion he is deciſive: L'art a commencé par le figures les plus ſimples, et probablement par une eſpece groſſiere de ſculpture; car un enfant même eſt capable de donner une certaine forme à une matiere ſouple, mais il ne peut rien deſſiner ſur une ſuperficie. Hiſt. de L'Art. Sect. 1. et Chap. 4. Sect. 2. Pliny is of the ſame opinion as to modelling being antecedent to graving the figure:—" ſimilitudines exprimendi quæ prima fuerit origo, in eâ quam *Plaſticen* Græci vocant dici convenientius erit, etenim prior quàm ſtatuaria fecit." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 34. Cap. 7. When we attentively conſider the moſt ancient Etruſcan and Ægyptian figures, preſerved in the Italian muſeums, we cannot think that they were worked from *outline*, or that the art of ſtatuary was indebted for its origin to the limniſt. Indeed Diodorus, Sic. L. 4. expreſsly

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expreſsly tells us, that they were work'd from *meaſurement*;—and to ſuch nicety and known proportions, that half of a ſtatue was often made in one province of Ægypt, and half in another, and the moities exactly fitted when put together.

It is moreover evident from many circumſtances, that Painting was an art of no very high antiquity:—Polygnotus who painted the στόα ποικιλη, was the firſt who opened the lips, and gave life to the geſture of his faces: "inſtituit os adoperire, dentes oſtendere, vultum ab "antiquo rigore variare." Plin. L. 35. Cap. 9. And what is more remarkable, before the ninety third olympiad (the æra at which Appollodorus flouriſhed) in no picture was the eye attempted to be painted: "neque ante eum tabula ullius oſtenditur quæ teneat oculos."—in the "*grandior in capitibus articuliſque*," applied by the elder Pliny to Zeuxis—I have the ſtile of that maſter before my eyes,—I have before me the large heads and joints of the ſaints and martyrs, as repreſented on the windows of an ancient monaſtery, in an illuminated miſſal, or on the old Florentine ware.

NOTE [103.] Page 144.

Diodorus Sic. Lib. 4. ſays "that the proportion of the ancient "Ægyptian ſtatues was adopted, and introduced by Dædalus into "Greece: the ſame hiſtorian further obſerves, that Dædalus was "the firſt who engraved the eye, ſeparated the legs, and extended the "arms: the ſculptors before him, formed their rude images with "the eyes ſhut or blinking, and with the arms falling and cloſely at-"tached to the ſide."—τὸν γε ῥυθμὸν ὃν ἀρχαῖων κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνδριάντων τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοις ὑπο Δαιδαλε καταςκευαςθεισι πάρα τοις ἕλλησιν. . . . . πρῶτος δε ὀμμάτωσας, καὶ διαβεβηκότα τὰ σκελῆ ποιησας, ἐτι δέ τας χεῖρας διαπεπαμμένας ποιῶν, ὅι γὰρ πρό τοῦτε τεχνῖται καταςκευάζον τὰ ἀγαλμάτα τοις μέν ὀμμασι μεμυκότα, τας δε χεῖρας ἔχοντα καθειμένας, καὶ ταις πλευραῖς κεκολλημενας. Lib. 4. Dædalus was the ſon of Palamäon of Athens, and eſtabliſhed a ſchool there; wherein was educated Onatas of Ægina, and many others who were fathers of ſculpture in the different countries and cities, they migrated to, and ſettled in. Pauſanias ſpeaks highly of this

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Onatas: "τὸν δε Ονατᾶν τῦτον ἅτινος της τὲχνης ἐσι τὰ ἀγαλμάτα, ὀυδα 'Αιγινήτην, ἐδένος ὑςέρον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπο Δαιδαλε τε καὶ ἐργασηρις τῦ Αττικῦ·" Pauſan. in Eliac. 1. Dædalus worked chiefly in wood: Pauſanias ſpeaking of his ſtatue of Hercules extant even in his time, ſays of that and other works of Dædalus,—that "they were rude to the touch "and eye, but that yet ſomething of the true ſublime, enthuſiaſtic "and great, diſtinguiſhed theſe images:" Δαιδαλος δε ὁπόσα ἐργαζαλο ἀτόπωλερα μέν ἔισιν ἐις τὴν ὀψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δε ὁμως τί καὶ ἐνθέον τῦτοις· Pauſan. in Corinth.—in the ſame book, and in every other of his ten journals, he enumerates ſtatues of the remoter ages, and "*all of wood*; and "particularly in the Temple of Apollo," 'Απολλωνος τῦ θεαρις—adjudged to be the moſt ancient Temple remaining in the time of Pauſanias: that author indeed as far as his authority goes, (and I know of no better authority on the ſubject) puts the excluſive antiquity of wooden images out of queſtion, when in another place he ſuggeſts, that "the *wooden* or *Dædalean* images gave the name of Dædalus to "the artiſt the moſt excellent, inſtead of Dædalus having ſtamped "that epithet on ſuch ſtatues:" ὁι πάλαι ξόανα ἐκαλοῦν Δαιδαλα. ἐκαλουν δε, ἐμοι δοκειν, προτερον ἐτί ἡ Δαιδαλος ὁ παλαμαονος ἐγένελο 'Αθηνησι. τελῳ δε ὕςερον ἀπο τῶν Δαίδαλων ἐπεκλησιν γινεσθαι δοκῶ. Pauſan. in Bæot. Indeed the antiquity of wooden images ſeems beyond all record, and to elude any pretenſions of a diſcovery of their origin and invention.—It is obſervable that the *idols* formed by the rude nations in the ſouth ſeas, diſcovered and brought home by Captain Cook, are of wood,—at leaſt all thoſe which may be conſidered as prototypes.

NOTE [104.] Page 144.

χρυσειοι δ' εκαλερθε κὴ ἀργυρέοι κύνες ἦσαν
'Ους 'Ηφαιςος ἐτευξέν ἰδυίησι πράπιδεσσι,
Δῶμα φυλασσέμεναι μεγαλήτορος 'Αλκίνοῖο
'Αθάναλες ὀυλας κὴ ἀγηρως ἡμαλα πᾶνλα·

As to the words ἀθαναλυς, and αγηρως, applied to the above articles of ſculpture or inanimate beings, I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, that,

not only in theſe, but in other inſtances, Homer drew from *the life*, or from *himſelf*, and not from any examples or properties of art exiſting in his time. Painting, Pliny obſerves, Lib. 35. was not known at the time of the Trojan war; and probably was not in any great degree known in the time of Homer, one hundred and ſixty-eight years afterwards, according to his life attributed to Herodotus; and even according to the computation of thoſe, who regard that biography as ſpurious, placed at much the ſame period. The ſhield of Achilles is indeed repreſented as bearing figures and ſcenery diſtinguiſhed by colours; but Homer's deſcription is of nature itſelf, and the poet's eye hath viewed and deſcribed that nature in the mirror of his ſhield; the arts helped not the imagination of the poet, but the imagination of the poet helped the arts, and, as I think, in a great degree framed theſe arts. Critics have amuſed themſelves with the ſuppoſition of raiſed figures moving on the area of this ſhield by force of clockwork or machinery; and Mr. Pope, in his eſſay on the ſubject, adopting theſe ſuppoſitions, hath in ſupport thereof adduced certain hyperboles of Plato, relative to the ſtatues of Dædalus—as if *walking* or *ſpeaking!* mere phraſes of admiration! as if a modern ſhould ſay there is *life* in ſuch a performance; there is *ſpirit* in ſuch another; there is *animation* in the Moſes of Michael Angelo! there is *divinity* in the Jehovah of Raphael! Other critics have talked of enamel, and in urging the probability of that art having been employed to perfect the ſhield of Achilles, have alluded to the coloured figures on the walls of Babylon, which had as little to do with enamel as with ſtatuary: ſays Diodorus, ἐν ὧμαις ἐτι τοις πλινθοις διειλύπωλο θηρια ϖαντοδάπα· &c. &c. Lib. 2. Sect. 97. I merely deduce from the words of the hiſtorian, that a builder checquered his wall with figures, his bricks being ready prepared of different coloured clays. As to the art of enamel, or "*Picturæ Encauſticæ*," Pliny ſays it was unknown before the time of Polygnotus, Lib. 35. Cap. 11. As for the modern writers, who would reject on this occaſion the authority of Pliny, and ſubſtitute their own, they muſt give me a better reaſon than I have yet read, for accepting the modern, ere I reject the ancient. There is a circumſtance in the following lines which ſeems to have eſcaped the attention of the critics who have diſcuſſed the ſubject of Achilles's ſhield.

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Ἐν δὲ χόρον ποίκιλλε περικλύτος ἀμφιγύηεις
Τῷ ἴκελον οἷον ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ Εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἡσκήσεν καλλιπλόκαμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.

Iliad 18. v. 590.

And there the ſkilful Vulcan grav'd a dance
Like unto that which *Dædalus* did work
In Gnoſſus for the fair-hair'd Ariadné.

Dædalus would ſcarcely have been cited by Homer, had he not been in the poet's time the firſt artiſt known, or on record: nor had Homer been acquainted with more exquiſite workmanſhip would he have aſſimilated the choiceſt labours of the god Vulcan to a work of Dædalus. As for the idea of an old ſcholiaſt, "that this paſſage alludes "to a labyrinthian dance, inſtituted in commemoration of the eſ- "cape of Theſeus; and alludes to Dædalus merely as *Maitre du* "*Ballet*;"—credat Judæus Apella!—the poet, no doubt, comparing a *work of art*, his compariſon was *with a work of art*, and with a ſuppoſed if not real *work of Dædalus*: but the works of Dædalus were known to Pauſanias, and he repreſents them as rude and imperfect. Had painting afforded a more perfect example of art, the poet would probably thence have drawn his aſſimilation; and from his wholly omitting ſuch alluſion, not only in this paſſage, but throughout his whole poem, we may fairly deduce that in his time the art of painting was in little, or in no degree known, or in Greece, or in the countries of Aſia through which he travelled. As to the embroidered veils, &c. mentioned by the father of poetry; limning, or the art of the limner might have been, for ought I ſee in objection, much more ancient than that of the painter, and the firſt limning might have been *with threads* in fantaſtic border: but this ſubject would lead me beyond the proper limits of a note. Admitting the compoſition of the ſhield to be beautiful, we muſt allow the execution to be moſt difficult, nor in any degree feaſible in an age which regarded Dædalus *(the firſt ſculptor who departed from the rigid ſtile of the Ægyptians)* as the greateſt artiſt known, *comparatively*, in every branch of art; and it were ingenuous to

to allow the ſhield of Achilles to have been the work of the poet Homer, nor to pretend that ſculpture, painting, and even enamel, were arts in ſuch perfection at that æra, as to have been capable of the accompliſhment deſcribed. Pope, in his tranſlation of the verſes above cited, ſeems to have been aware of the ſtumbling block they contained to his ingenious criticiſm, and explanations of the ſhield, for he artfully ſubſtitutes the word *Dædalean* for *Dædalus*. CHAP. XVI.

> A figured dance ſucceeds; ſuch once was ſeen
> In loſty Gnoſſus, for the Cretan queen
> Form'd by *Dædalean* art, a comely band
> Of youthful maidens bounding hand in hand.
> Pope's Il. Book 18. v. 681.

Homer compares the choiceſt and moſt difficult work of art in his whole ſhield (namely a dance) to an actual *work of Dædalus*: the verſion "with *art Dædalean*" evades this circumſtance; for Pauſanias, as has been ſtated in a previous note, mentions that the word Δαίδαλα, or "Dædalean" was antecedent to the age of Dædalus, and might of courſe be uſed without any reference to that artiſt. The four lines of Pope, far from a tranſlation, are ſcarcely a paraphraſe; even Gnoſſus is *lofty* inſtead of *ſpacious*.

NOTE [105.] Page 145.

The tree is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt type of architecture, as undoubtedly it was the firſt material: the avenue of the hallowed grove wherein the firſt rude altar was raiſed, ſuggeſted the forming ſuch avenue of ſtone or marble; the trunk of the tree was the type of the column; the head, of its various capitals and orders, invented ſucceſſively by ingenious man, thereafter intermingling his own arts and phantaſies of building. As has been ſhown, the tree likewiſe afforded the firſt material of ſtatuary: I will again cite Pauſanias: Δάναϑ ϰ᾽ ὁ νάος, ϰ᾽ το ξοάνον ἀναϑῆμα ἦν· ξοάνα γὰρ δὴ πότε εἶναι πεἰθομαι πάλα ϰ᾽ μάλιϛα τὰ Αιγυπτία: "the temple and the ſtatue too of Danaus

"were

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" were of wood, and *all* the works of the higheſt antiquity, and parti-
" cularly thoſe of Ægypt, I am perſuaded, were of the ſame material." Pauſan. in Corinth. As the tree afforded the firſt material, may it not too have been the firſt type of ſtatuary? May not two branches have remained for arms, and a root happily divided have given the legs of the firſt repreſentation of the human figure, attempted in a rude kind of ſculpture? Ovid hath with ingenuity metamorphoſed the human figure into a tree:

Mollia cinguntur tenui præcordia libro,
In frondem Crines, in Ramos brachia creſcunt,
Pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus hæret,
Ora Cacumen obit. Ov. Metam. Lib. 1. V. 550.

Is the antimetamorphoſis difficult to conceive?

Jam caput e capite, et ramis jam brachia creſcunt,
Et videas prodire pedes radicibus imis,
Et Truncus validum corpus fit viribus inſtans,
Dum nares nodi, dumque os bene format hiatus
Quo mel decurrit; neque deerunt mella loquenti!

NOTE [106.] Page 145.

The outline is, and ever was, the moſt difficult for the ſtudent to maſter. The ancients in general, and even Apelles, painted with only four colours; " ex albis, melino; ex ſilaceis, Attico; ex rubris, ſi-
" nopide pontico; ex nigris, atramento." Yet they found it eaſier to fill up, than to draw, the figure: Parrhaſius confeſſione artificum in lineis extremis palmam adeptus; hæc eſt in picturâ ſumma ſubtilitas, corpora enim pingere et media rerum, eſt quidem magni operis, ſed in quo multi gloriam tulerint: extrema corporum facere rarum in ſucceſſu artis invenitur. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 35. Cap. 10.

NOTE

NOTE [107.] Page 145.

The Seſtine chapel in the Vatican is decorated with the Sibyls, and laſt judgment, painted by Michael Angelo Buonaroti.

NOTE [108.] Page 145.

Of the ſingle figures painted by the ancient maſters, many have been deſcribed by Ælian, Pauſanias, Lucian, Pliny, and others: of theſe more particularly may be noticed, "the figure of Cupid, by Pauſias, "throwing away the bow, and aſſuming the lyre;" or the other by the ſame maſter, of "ebriety drinking from a chryſtal goblet, and the "face ſeen through the chryſtal;"—ἰδοις δ' ἂν ἐν τῃ γραφῃ φιαλήν τε ὕαλε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς γυναικος πρόσωπον· Pauſan. in Corinth. We ſhould remember too the picture by Theon, of the ſoldier ruſhing to battle, deſcribed by Ælian. Lib. 2. Cap. 44. Similar to the picture by Theon, are the Hoplitides, or two armed ſoldiers of Parrhaſius; "alter in certamine "ita decurrens, ut ſudare videatur; alter arma deponens, ut anhelare "ſentiatur." Plin. Lib. 35. Cap. 10. We ſhould likewiſe advert to the examples of art mentioned in the "Pinotheca," or picture-gallery deſcribed by Petronius, in which were many works of Apelles, who delighted much in ſingle figures, and whoſe ſingle figures were ſo many wonders of the art: "tantâ enim ſubtilitate extremitates imaginum "erant ad ſimilitudinem preciſæ, ut crederes etiam animorum eſſe "picturam." Petron. Sat. Cap. 83. Having ſpoken of Apelles, his famous portrait of Alexander in the character of Jupiter, gives, even in deſcription, a ſtriking idea of the powers of that painter: "digiti "eminere videntur, et fulmen extrà tabulam eſſe, ſed legentes me-"minerint ea omnia *quatuor coloribus* facta." Plin. Lib. 35. Cap. 10. If I am right in my ſuppoſition, that "the ancients were wholly igno-"rant of a *ſyſtematic perſpective*;" their crouded compoſitions muſt have been moſt confuſed performances; and how much they were ſometimes crouded, appears from the deſcription of the γέα ποικιλη· A mere

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detail of the ſubject of which, and of the names of the portraits delineated therein, taking up three whole pages in the folio edition of Pauſanias: the burning of Troy, with every concomitant anecdote is fully treated; the departure of the Grecian fleet, and every ſhip, and every chieftain, is particularly remarked; the deſcent of Ulyſſes to the ſhades below, and all elyſium, and the infernal regions are opened to the view; above one hundred and fifty portraits are ſpecified by names underwritten, and the figures and machinery beſides are innumerable: a ſuppoſition of the extent of the gallery, and of the number of compartments, will neither relieve the artiſt or critic; for *each* compartment or ſeparate ſubject, required all the arts of aerial and lineal perſpective, not to have been incongruous and unnatural. Some pictures indeed are extant, ſuch as the marriage in the Aldobrandini collection, which conſiſt of ſeveral figures elegantly arranged and compoſed; but theſe pictures ſupport our theory, when it is obſerved, that the figures are moſtly on one plane, and appear like "*paintings* "*copied from baſſo relievo.*" The marriage of Alexander and Roxana, mentioned by Lucian, in his Eulogy of Herodotus, ſeems to have been of the ſame kind; and from every relation of the ancient writers, as well as from the examples of art which remain, I think it may be deduced, that the beſt pictures of the ancient maſters were thoſe ſimple in their compoſition, and which required not a ſcientific perſpective. No one who has ſeen merely the reliques of Herculaneum, or ſeen only the beautiful compoſition of the Cupid-merchant, can doubt but that their groupes were *independantly* excellent.—I wiſh I could add to the *exiſting* example above cited, a preſervation of the charming compoſition of Zeuxis deſcribed by Lucian; "of a female centaur with "her young, and the male centaur holding up a lion's whelp in ſpor- "tive terror to his own offspring." Lucian. in Zeuxide.

NOTE [109.] Page 146.

(Cinægirus) qui poſt prælii innumeras cædes, cum fugientes hoſtes ad naves egiſſet, onuſtam navem dextrâ manu tenuit; nec prius demiſit, quàm manum amitteret, tum quoque amputatâ dextrâ, navem

ſiniſtrâ comprehendit; quam et ipſam quum amiſiſſet, ad poſtremum morſu navem detinuit. Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

NOTE [110.] Page 146.

I am well aware that optics were a branch of mathematical ſcience in the times I allude to: "Pars quædam Geometriæ ὀπτικὴ appellatur, "quæ ad oculos pertinet; ὀπτικὴ autem reddit cauſas cur viſiones fal- "lant, et quæ in aquâ conſpiciuntur, majora ad oculos fiant;—quæ "*procul ab oculis ſunt minora*. Aul. Gell. Lib. 16. Cap. 18. I have cited the above paſſage, as the only one I have read, which may be conſtrued to hint at a *perſpective rule*: though in my humble opinion ſuch conſtruction would be very forced.

NOTE [111.] Page 146.

Illud in his rebus longè ſuge credere, Memmi,
In medium ſummæ quod dicunt omnia niti,
Atque ideo mundi naturam ſtare, ſine ullis
Ictibus externis, neque quoquam poſſe reſolvi
Summa atque ima, quòd in medium ſint omnia nixa.
Ipſum ſi quicquam poſſe in ſe ſiſtere credis,
Et quæ pondera ſub terris ſunt, omnia ſurſùm
Nitier, in terrâque retro requieſcere pôſta;
Ut per aquas quæ nunc rerum ſimulacra videmus,
Et ſimili ratione animalia ſubtu' vagari
Contendunt, neque poſſe e terris in loca cæli
Recidere inferiora magis, quam corpora noſtra
Sponte ſuâ poſſint in cæli templa volare:
Illi quum videant ſolem, nos ſidera noctis
Cernere, et alterni nobiſcum tempora cæli
Dividere, et noctes pariles agitare dieſque.
Sed vanus ſtolidis hæc omnia finxerit error.

Lucret. Lib. 1.

CHAP. XVI.

Plato ſeems to have been one of thoſe comprized in the cenſures of Lucretius, his idea was, γην δ' οὖσαν ἐπι τε μέσε κινεῖσθαι περι το μέσον. Diog. Laert. in vit. ejus.—In Note 99, there is a reference to Monſieur Bailly's treatiſe on the origin of ſciences, &c.—to thoſe who are not acquainted with that ingenious work, it may be neceſſary to mention generally its deſign, relative to ſuch important truths as thoſe ſtated by Anaxagoras, and thoſe alluded to by Lucretius, and many others delivered by the ancient ſophiſts. Mr. Bailly ſuppoſes, that—" the mere ſtatement of important truths, the attainment of " which required a certain proceſs of knowledge and inveſtigation, " without any ſtatement of that inveſtigation and of the ſubordinate " degrees of knowledge by which thoſe truths were attained,—implies, " that the philoſophers who delivered ſuch truths, whether in the ſhape " of propoſition, prediction, or deduction, were mere depoſitaries of " thoſe truths or axioms, traditionary from a more ancient and " enlightened people, whoſe ſteps and gradations in ſcience were loſt, " and of whom we have no account.

NOTE [112.] Page 147.

Thus Apelles confeſſed himſelf in the diſpoſition of objects inferiour to Amphion, and in the deſignation of diſtances inferiour to Aſclepiodorus—" Cedebat Amphioni de diſpoſitione, Aſclepiodoro " de menſuris, hoc eſt quanto quid a quo diſtare deberet." Plin. Lib. 35. Cap. 10.—This could ſcarcely have happened to ſo learned and accompliſhed an artiſt as Apelles, had there in his time been *rules of perſpective* to work by.

APPENDIX.

NOTES, &c.

BOOK THE SECOND.

NOTE [113.] Page 153.

(ΣΩΚΠΑΤ. ειπ.)—αλλα τοδ', ειπε επί τέλῳ ει λεγονται Αθηναιοι δία Περίκλεα βελτιες γεγόνεναι, ἡ πᾶν τἐναντιον διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ' ἐκεινα. ταυτί γὰρ ἐγωγε ἀκῆω Περικλεα πεποιηκεναι Αθηναιες ἄργες καὶ δειλες κὴ λαλες κὴ φιλάργυρες εἰς μισθοφόραν πάρα τὸν καλασηταυτα.—(Socrates) "tell me then if "the Athenians were the better for, or on the contrary corrupted by "the adminiſtration of Pericles?—for I have heard that Pericles ren- "dered the Athenians indolent, enervate, licentious, and mercenary, "by the venal practices which he introduced among them." Platon. Gorg. Dialog. N. B. I have rendered the word μισθοφόραν in a general ſenſe, but perhaps Plato had a ſpecific alluſion to the ſtipend for attendance on public queſtions, inſtituted during the adminiſtration of Pericles, vid. Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. et Lib. 6. Cap. 2. CHAP. I.

NOTE [114.] Page 153.

The character of Pompey drawn by Lucan in his Pharſalia, tallies in ſo many reſpects with that of Pericles, as delineated in the ſecond book

CHAP. I

book of Thucydides, that probably the poet borrowed from the hiſtorian:—ſome leading features of the following characters will too, I doubt not, recall to the reader's mind, the memory *of a late Britiſh ſtateſman*,—Ἐκεῖνος μεν δὺναλος ἐν τῳ τέ ἀξιὼμαλι καὶ τῃ γνὼμῃ. . . . . χρὴμαλων δαφανῶς ἀδωρόταλος γιγνομένος. . . . . καλεῖχε τό πλῆθός ἐλευθέρως, καὶ ἐκ ἤγελο μᾶλλον ὑπ' ἀὐλε, ἢ ἀὐλος ἦγε. . . . . ἐγὶγνέλο τε λὸγῳ μέν δημοκραλία, ἔργῳδε ὑπο τε πρὼτε ἄνδρος ἀρχῃ. . . . . Thucyd. Lib. 2. ſect. 65.

With views to the *latter application* I ſhall give the beautiful ſpeech of Cato in the Pharſalia at length.

" Civis obît (inquit) multo majoribus impar
" Noſſe modum juris, ſed in hoc tamen utilis ævo,
" Cui non ulla fuit juſti reverentia;—ſalvâ
" Libertate, potens, et ſolus, plebe paratâ,
" Privatus, parere ſibi:—Rectorque Senatûs
" Sed regnantis erat; nil belli jura popoſcit,
" Quæque dari voluit, voluit ſibi poſſe negari:
" Immodicas poſſedit opes, ſed plura retentis
" Intulit; invaſit ferrum, ſed ponere nôrat:
" Prætulit arma togæ, ſed pacem armatus amavit.
" Juvit ſumpta ducem, juvit dimiſſa poteſtas:
" Caſta domus, luxuque carens, corruptaque nunquam
" Fortunâ domini;—Clarum et venerabile nomen
" Gentibus, et multum noſtræ quod proderat urbi!

Lucan. Pharſal. Lib. 9. v. 190.

NOTE [115.] Page 155.

Plutarch relates a converſation between Pericles and Alcibiades, in which the former obſerving " that his thoughts were employed, in " the conſideration of how to make up his public accounts to the " public aſſembly:"—Alcibiades anſwered,—" rather conſider how " to avoid the being under a neceſſity of giving any account at all." Plutarch thence intimates the motive of Pericles, for embroiling his country in a war, which might engage the minds of the citizens, and prevent their adverting to his ſtate of reſponſibility. A meaner motive, and

and one leſs ſuitable to the character of Pericles, was objected to him by the comic writers: Among the conditions on which the Spartans inſiſted, (and in default of the acceptance of which, they denounced war,) was the opening the ports of Attica to the people of Megara; and ſays the comic poet, "Pericles rejected wholly theſe terms, merely "becauſe the Megarenſians had offended Aſpaſia. CHAP. I.

Πορνὴν δε Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγαράδε
Νεᾶνεαι κλέπτασι μεθυσοκόταβοι
Κἄθ' οι Μεγαρῆς ὀδυναις πεφυσίνωμένοι
Ἀνέξεκλεψαν Ασπάσιας πόρνα δύο.
Κἀνεῦθεν ἀρχη τᾶ πολεμα καὶ ρᾳγη
Ἕλλησι πᾶσιν ἐκ τρίων λοικαστριων.
Ἐνεὐθεν ὀργη Περικλῆς ὀλύμπιος
Ἠστράπτεν, ἐβρόντᾶ, συνεκύκα τήν Ἑλλαδα.

Αχαρινῆς Ariſtoph. Comæd.

Some youths of Athens in their cups went forth
To Megara, and thence did carry off
By force, the whore Simætha: in return,
The youth of Megara by reſentment urged,
Bore off two girls from th' brothel of Aſpaſia.
Hence the dire war which burſt upon the Greeks
In every part;—by three lewd Harlots caus'd!
Hence the Olympian Pericles did rage,
Hence lighten, ſtorm, and urge the fates of Greece!

NOTE [116.] Page 157.

Pericles died two years and ſix months after the commencement of the Peloponneſian war. Thucyd. Lib. 2. Sect. 65.

Unleſs Iſocrates exaggerates, Pericles muſt have been a moſt able, as well as diſintereſted financier, on his deceaſe leaving in the treaſury eight thouſand talents, being two thouſand more than were in it, when the war commenced. καὶ τοι Περικλης ὁ πρὸ των τοιῶτων δημαγωγος καλὰσας, παραλάβω

CHAP. I.

παραλάβων τὴν πόλιν χειρῶ μεν φρονεῦσαν ἢ πρίν καλασχειν τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔτι δε ἀνεκλῶς μεν πολιτευομενην ἐκ ἐπι τὸν ἰδιόν χρημαλίσμα ὥρμησεν ἀλλα τὸν μεν ὅικον ἐλατλῶ τὸν ἐαυλε καλελίπεν, ἢ παρα τε πὰτρος παρελαβεν. ἐς δε τήν ἀκρὸπολιν ἀνηνὲγκεν ὀκλαχὶσχιλια ταλὰντα· "Pericles, antecedent to the power of "the demagogues I have above-mentioned, taking on him the go- "vernment, preſided over a republic, the worſe indeed for his uncon- "ſtitutional influence, but yet adminiſtered with a temperate uſe of "authority: private rights and property were ſafe during his miniſtry; "and he left his houſe leſs opulent than he received it from his anceſ- "tors, whilſt for the public treaſury he had collected eight thouſand "talents." Iſocrat. Orat. περι Ἐιρηνης·

NOTE [117.] Page 158.

The dominion of Athens was certainly not leſs extenſive at this æra than in the times of Ariſtophanes.

Ἔισιν γὰρ πόλεις σχιλίαι, ἀι νὺν τον φόρον ὑμῖν ὑπαγεσι,
Τὲτων ἔικοσιν ἀνδρας βὸσκειν, ἐι τίς προσελὰξεν εκὰςη.
Δύο μυρὶαδες των δημότων ἐζῶν ἐν πᾶσι λαγὼοις·

"We have one thouſand cities tribute paying,
"Each order twenty citizens to feed,
"And twenty thouſand then ſhall live in lux'ry.

Veſpes. Comæd.

NOTE [118.] Page 158.

In an ancient war with Sparta, a brave band of the inhabitants of old Meſſene, when that city was ſtormed by the Lacedæmonians, forced their way through the aſſailants, and ſettling at Naupactos, ever after nurtured an hereditary enmity againſt their ancient foe.

Pauſan. in Meſſen.

NOTE

NOTE [119.] Page 159.

In conſequence of the perfidy of the Platæans in their cruel treatment of their priſoners contrary to an expreſs compact, their town was afterwards inveſted by the confederate forces; and the firſt military detail of a ſiege is on the occaſion given us by Thucydides. The whole account is very circumſtantial, and the complete ſcience of attack and defence in the degrees they were in thoſe times underſtood may be gathered from that very curious and intereſting recital.

Thucyd. Lib. 2. &. 3.

NOTE [120.] Page 163.

The account of the plague at Athens, in the ſecond book of Thucydides, is a moſt accurate detail of the progreſs of that diſtemper; and tallies ſo cloſely with the hiſtory of that dreadful malady in its ſeveral ſtages, as deſcribed by Boccacio in his preface to the *Decamerone*,—in the officers journal at Marſeilles,—and in the citizens' account of the plague at London, that the identity of the diſorder cannot be doubted; and more particularly as the Greek hiſtorian, traces the diſeaſe from upper Ægypt to Aſia, and thence to Athens. I have heard Dr. Samuel Johnſon declare, that the *Citizens' account of the plague at London*, quoted by Dr. Mead, in his Treatiſe on Poiſons, as an authentic work, is a *mere romance*, written by the ingenious Daniel de Foe: I cannot perſuade myſelf that the work is not authentic; Daniel de Foe may have been the Editor; but I think that he or ſome other compiler was in poſſeſſion of authentic documents. I read the book under ſtrong prepoſſeſſion in favor of Dr. Johnſon's authority; but the reſult of my reading the book was the rejecting that authority.—Some few of the anecdotes interſperſed in that intereſting work may poſſibly have been added, and others heightened by Daniel de Foe's admirable fancy.

CHAP. I.

NOTE [121.] Page 165.

This treaty or compact, as far as the allies were concerned, was illusive, or no compact at all; for the subordinate parties in the war, whether free or subsidiary states, were left wholly at the discretion of Athens and Sparta, by a saving clause which left an opening to any, and to every new article of arrangement, which those imperious republics Athens and Sparta, might at any subsequent time suggest and agree to. Τὴν δε τί δοκῇ Λακεδαιμονιοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελειν πέρι της συμμαχίας, ὁ, τι ἄν δοκῇ ἐυορκον ἀμφοτεροις εἶναι. "Whatever "hereafter it may seem good to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athe- "nians, to add to, or to subtract from, this treaty; be it done with "good faith." Thucyd. Lib. 5.

NOTE [122.] Page 166.

In the chapter of this work, treating of the legislation of Solon, and in every other passage touching the institutions of the commonwealth, I have omitted any pretensions to ascertain the age, at which the citizen arrived at his full rights and powers. *Thirty years* hath been the age ordinarily agreed on by the critics. Alcibiades was at this time only *six and twenty*. Vid. Not. ad Sect. 41. Lib. 5. Thucyd. ed. Dukeri. Thucydides indeed hath the expression, ἡλίκια μέν τοΐε ὢν νέος, ἀξιώματι δε προγονων τιμῶμενος. Another question of equal difficulty then occurs, as to how far, and in what cases the plea of ancestry, or of personal merit, might supersede ordinary regulations?

NOTE [123.] Page 169.

CHAP. II.

The circumstance of commerce and liberty mutually sustaining and fostering each other, is strongly exemplified in a fact stated by Aris-

totle, who obſerves, that the merchants and mariners of the Piræeus, were of a more democratic turn and ſpirit than thoſe of the upper town: Ἀθηνῆσιν οὐχ' ὁμοίως εἰσιν ἄλλα μᾶλλον δημότικοι οἱ Πειραῖα οἰκοῦντες τῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 3. ſo too Book 1. Chap. 6. of this treatiſe, we find that Piſiſtratus taking the popular part, and pretending to aſſert general liberty and enfranchiſement, the Παραλιοι ſupported him in oppoſition to the Πεδιαῖοι. CHAP. II.

NOTE [124.] Page 170.

Καὶ τῷ ὄντι τὸ ἄγαν τι ποιειν, μεγαλην φὑσει εἰς τ'ἐναντιον μεταβολην ἀπολαμβανειν, ἐν ὥραις τε, καὶ ἐν φυτοις, καὶ ἐν σωμασι, καὶ δη καὶ ἐν πολιτειαις ἐχ' ἥκιστα. "In fact great exertion is wont moſt quickly to recoil, and the moſt "flouriſhing ſtate of things to ſuffer the ſtrongeſt viciſſitude; nor does "this apply merely to inſtances of ſeaſons, of plants, and of animal "bodies, but particularly to political bodies." Platon. Pol. Lib. 8.

NOTE [125.] Page 170.

Ariſtotle in his politics, Lib. 7. Cap. 6. treats of the commercial or mercantile body in a ſtate; and in his enquiries into what kind of inhabitants are beſt, by no means admits as ſuch the trading part; looking on their practices as introducing a principle moſt dangerous to the morals of the people, and to the regular conduct of the commonwealth. In every ſtate merely commercial, as riches are the excluſive object, avarice muſt be the ruling principle; and how far ſuch principle is calculated to overpower and bear down all other motives and ſprings of action, when once fully admitted, is too obvious to require any detail of argument. Plato thereon ſays,—"τουτευθεν τοινυν "προϊοντες εἰς τὸ προσθεν χρηματιζεσθαι, ὁσῳ ἂν τελο τιμιωτερον ἡγωνται τοσουτῳ "ἀρετὴν ἀτιμοτεραν. . . . . αὐτι δη φιλονεικων καὶ φιλοτιμων ἀνδρων, φιλοχρηματι- "στισαι καὶ φιλοχρηματοι τελευτωντες ἐγενοντο." "Thenceforward looking "alone to the acquiſition of wealth, in proportion as they appreciate "that, they depreciate virtue; and from being emulative of danger

CHAP. II.

" and glory, become mere competitors in avarice and accumulation." Plat. Pol. Lib. 8. Wealth not only being ſought as the means of enjoyment, but as a ſource too of honours and reſpect;—this is the criterion of extreme degeneracy of public manners, whence may be prognoſticated the worſt evils, and viciſſitudes, a community is liable to: for ſuch depraved competition for the means of undue influence, as well as of vice, muſt diſſolve every tye of public virtue and juſtice, which holds a ſtate together.

NOTE [126.] Page 172.

Nicias, in a long ſpeech preſerved by Thucydides, diſapproved of the expedition he was ſent to command; and, ſays the hiſtorian, " Al-" cibiades was an advocate for the enterprize, merely from views of " oppoſition to Nicias,"—βελόμενος τῳ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι· ſo that a General was ſent who liked not his command, and a colleague ſent with him who would certainly thwart and oppoſe it.

NOTE [127.] Page 173.

Alcibiades was charged with having irreverently attacked the images of Mercury, which throughout the city were all broken and defaced in one night. Thucyd. Lib. 6. Theſe ſacred Mercuries had been erected " in triviis et compitis" by Hipparchus. Platon. Hipparch. Dial.—They were a ſort of *Termini*, and in form τετραγῶνοι, the head and ſhoulders of a Mercury terminating in a ſquare block, and the private parts alone relieved from the flat ſuperficies in front. Pauſan. in Meſſen.

NOTE [128.] Page 176.

It is well known that the Athenians were much addicted to theatrical amuſements, of which we have a remarkable inſtance preſerved by Athenæus; who ſays, " that when the account of the total loſs of the " army

" army in Sicily arrived, though that fatal event comprized objects of " domeſtic concern, affecting every family in Athens, yet being firſt " announced in the theatre, the ſenſe of public danger and of private " grief were for a while loſt in the attention of the audience to Hege- " mon, a favourite actor then on the ſtage; and Hegemon went " through his entire part without interruption; nor did a citizen quit " the theatre, 'ere the performance was cloſed." Athenæ, Lib. 9. P. 407. Indeed the predilection for dramatic performances ſeems at this æra to have pervaded every republic as far as Sicily: for we are told (I think by the ſame author) that the Syracuſans releaſed from the Latomies, many of their priſoners, and gave them life and liberty as the price of their repeating ſome of the moral lines of Euripides.

NOTE [129.] Page 177.

If Pericles had ever any deſign on Sicily, or other object in the Italian ſeas, he certainly never meant to enforce, or to carry into execution ſuch ſcheme, whilſt engaged in war with the Peloponneſians; during hoſtilities with whom, the maxims of that great ſtateſman were as follow: " To purſue the war temperately and with perſeverance;" " —to throw all their force of ſervice into the naval line;"—" to at- " tempt no increaſe of dominion from the war;"—and laſtly, " never " to leave open and expoſed to hazard and ſudden enterprize, their " docks, arſenals, or, in a word, their city:"—purſuing which ſyſtem, Pericles doubted not, but that his countrymen would finally gain a ſuperiority in the conteſt; but ſays the hiſtorian " on the demiſe of Pe- " ricles, the Athenians acted in every reſpect contrary."—ὁ μεν γὰρ ἡσυχαζονλας τέ, καὶ τὸ ναυλικὸν θεραπευονλας, καὶ ἀρχην μη ἐπικλεμένας ἐν τῳ πολεμῳ, μηδε πόλει κινδυνευονλας ἐφῃ περιεσεσθαι. . . . . οἱ δε ταυτα τε πανλα ἐς τἐναντιον ἐπραξαν. Thucyd. Lib. 2. Sect. 65.

NOTE

NOTE [130.] Page 179.

CHAP. III.

It doth not immediately occur to me where I read the inſcription alluded to in the text, and which ſpecified an enormous quantity of wine drank.—The epitaph of Darius was to the ſame effect, i. e. boaſting of accompliſhment or feats in drinking.

Ἠδυναμὴν καὶ οἶνον πῖνειν πολὺν, καὶ τοῦτον φέρειν καλῶς.

" Much I could drink, and, what is more,
" The wine I drank, full well I bore."

Athenæ, Lib. 10. P. 434.

NOTE [131.] Page 179.

The character of Alcibiades recalls to mind that given by Livy of Antiochus,—" adeoque nulli fortunæ adhærebat animus, per omnia " genera vitæ errans, uti nec ſibi nec aliis, quinam homo ſit, ſatis " conſtaret." T. Liv. Hiſt. Lib. 41.

NOTE [132.] Page 184.

How far the conſtitution of the commonwealth was ſubverted or controuled by Alcibiades, may be gathered from the following anecdote: " Hegemon the actor having been formally accuſed of a capital " crime, ſolicited the intereſt and interpoſition of Alcibiades; who " accompanying him to the Metrôon or temple of Ceres, where the " charge was exhibited, wetted his finger and paſſed it over the in- " dictment, and thus eraſed it to the great umbrage of the Prytanes " and

" and ſecretary, who were preſent, but who reſtrained their reſentment " from dread of Alcibiades: the accuſers of Hegemon then fled the " city." Athenæ, Lib. 9. P. 407. From the fact above cited, the reader may be induced to pronounce, " the conqueſts of Lyſander not " ſo fatal an interruption to the freedom of the republic:"—Reſiſtance was an effect of the oppreſſions of a foreign power; but probably corruption would have enervated the ſlaves to domeſtic uſurpation.

NOTE [133.] Page 190.

Machiavel hath taken the ſubject alluded to in the text in another point of view, and hath briefly treated of it, with a force of ſentiment and language, peculiar to his ſtrong and penetrating genius.—" Fa " bene la fortuna queſta, che ella elegge un uomo, quando ella voglia " condurre coſe grandi, di tanto ſpirito e di tantè virtú, che e' conoſca " quelle occaſioni che ella lui porge: con medeſima mente, quando " ella voglia condurre grandi rovine, ella ſi propone uomini che aiu- " tino quella rovina; e ſe alcuno fuſſe che vi poteſſe oſtare, ó ella lo " amazza, ó lo priva di tutte le facoltá di poter operare alcuno bene." Machiav. Diſcorſ. Lib. 2. Cap. 29. The character, the conduct, the life, and the death of Alcibiades, afford ample ſubjects of application to the theory of Machiavel.

NOTE [134.] Page 191.

From the time the empire of the ſeas was conceded to Athens by the other Grecian ſtates after the defeat of Xerxes, to the capture of Athens by Lyſander, was ſixty-eight years; and ſo long was that ſtate termed " ſovereign of the ſeas."—Ἀθηναῖοι μέν γὰρ αὐτὸς μόνον ἦρξαν τῆς παραλίας ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτά. Dionyſ. Hal. Ant. Rom. Lib. 1.

NOTE

NOTE [135.] Page 194.

CHAP. IV.

Socrates had, if any heathen ever had,—" that clear mental viſion " which reached the nature of that being, always the ſame, and ſem- " piternal, and not moving with others in the circle of ſucceſſive gene- " ration and extinction:" ὁρωσιν μαθημαῖος οσα αν αὐῖῳ δηλοι (τὴν φὺσιν) ἐκεῖνης τής ἐσιας, της ἀει ὄσης καὶ μή πλανῶμένης υπο γενέσεως καὶ φθόρας· Plat. Pol. Lib. 6. Look too in the Eſſay of Apuleius *de deo Socratis*, wherein the abſtract idea of pure ſpirit leads *to the god of Socrates*. To ſuch he prayed, to ſuch he truſted, and among various and genuine attributes of the Holy Spirit, reſted on a divine *providence*, the immediate and tutelary care of an ever-preſent and guardian Deity: in the Phædon of Plato, the ordinary epithet given by Socrates to the Supreme Being, is " Superintendant or Guardian,"—Θέος ἐπιμελοῦμενος. Reſignation too was among his tenets as a duty of religion;—this is obſervable in the Phædon and Crito of Plato, and in the Memorabilia of Xenophon, and in various other paſſages; but no where more ſtrikingly expreſſed, than in the following one of Epictetus.—ϰ᾽ τὶ λέγει ἐκεῖνος; ἐμε δ᾽ Ανὺτος καὶ Μελὶτος αποκλεῖναι μέν δυναὐαι, βλαὐψαι δ᾽ ὲ· καὶ πάλιν. ἐι ταυῖὴ τῷ Θεῳ φίλειν, ταυῖὴ γένεσθῶ·—And what does Socrates ſay?—" Anytus and " Melitus may put me to death, but they cannot hurt me:" and again,—" if ſuch be the will of God, may his will be done!" Epictet. Διαῖριβ. Lib. 1. Cap. 39. The character of Socrates is deſcribed by the younger Pliny, when he ſays: " Ego optimum et emendatiſſi- " mum exiſtimo, qui cæteris ita ignoſcit, tanquam ipſe quotidiè pec- " cet; ita peccatis abſtinet, tanquam nemini ignoſcat." Lib. 8. Ep. 2. hence ſome even of the Fathers of the Church, have gone ſo far in expreſſing their admiration of the character of Socrates, as to term him a Chriſtian.

NOTE

CHAP. IV.

NOTE [136.] Page 198.

Τι γὰρ μαθονθ' ὑβριζέτον γ' εἰς τες θέες
Καὶ τῆς Σεληνῆς ἐσκόπεισθε τὴν ἕδραν;
Δίωκε, βάλλε, πάιε, πόλλον ἐνέκα
Μαλιςα δ' εἴδως, τες θεες ὡς ἡδικᾶν.

Ariſtoph. Νεφελ. Comœd.

NOTE [137.] Page 198.

Macrobius proves that Plato had not even reſpect to Chronology in the choice of Perſons for his Dialogues; as for inſtance, of Parmenides, Timæus, Pagalus, and Xantippus. Satyricon. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

NOTE [138.] Page 200.

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The hiſtorical part of this chapter, is a mere epitome of the Anabyſis of Xenophon.

NOTE [139.] Page 207.

. . . . at (Gens Romana) Hiſtoriâ non ceſſerit Græcis; nec opponere Thucydidi Salluſtium verear; nec indignetur ſibi Herodotus æquari Titum Livium: nam mihi egregiè dixiſſe videtur Servilius Nonianus, *pares eos magis quam ſimiles:*—Qui et ipſe a nobis auditus eſt, clari vir ingenii et ſententiis creber, ſed minus preſſus, quam hiſtoriæ auctoritas poſtulat: Quinctil. Inſt. Orat. Lib. 10. Cap. 1. Tacitus ſeems to have filled up that part of the character of a perfect hiſtorian, which Quinctilian thought wanting in Nonianus.

NOTE [140.] Page 212.

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On whatever grounds or principles of equality the inſtitutions of a commonwealth may have been originally founded, a *Nobility* muſt and will eſtabliſh itſelf in proceſs of time, ἡ γὰρ ἐυγένεια ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή. "for nobility is merely ancient wealth and virtue." Ariſtot. Pol.Lib. 8. Cap. 4. Beſides, as Plato obſerves, "manners "are ever ſubject to fluctuation and change, and in their rapid courſe, "draw into the current, ſtate-conſtitution and policy."—πολιτείας γιγνέσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἠθῶν τῶν ἐν πόλεσι, οἱ ἂν ὥσπερ ρευσὰν λαβὼν ἄλλα ἐφελκυσῆται· Platon. Pol. L. 8.

NOTE [141.] Page 212.

Tacitus makes a ſimilar obſervation, on the language and conduct of the Romans, when the death of Auguſtus was hourly expected: "Pauci *bona libertatis incaſſum diſſerere*, pars bellum paveſcere, alii "cupere:" Ann. 1. but the Romans were at that time in ſo diſſolute a ſtate, as incapacitated them from the receiving, and much more from the aſſerting their ancient liberties. The Athenians had not yet reached that climax of corruption, to the mouldering point on which freedom loſes all hold. It hath been repeatedly urged, that for a people to continue free, they muſt in a certain degree be virtuous: independency of ſpirit under circumſtances of ſubjection to every mean, and to every diſſolute paſſion is a paradox in politics; whilſt thoſe paſſions muſt ever impel a corrupt and diſſipated nation to barter that independancy, for the means of habitual and ſenſual gratification; and the more ſo, as vitiated minds cannot duly eſtimate or enjoy the bleſſings which a pure ſpirit feels, in the importance and exerciſe of ſelf-controul; without which liberty is licentiouſneſs, and a republic anarchy. I ſhall quote an example from Machiavel's Diſcourſes, as confirming

confirming the theory :—" Non ſi vede il più forte eſempio che quello " di Roma, la quale, cacciati i Tarquini, poté ſubito prendere è " mantenere quella libertá: ma morto Ceſare, morto C. Caligula, " morto Nerone, ſpenta tutta la ſtirpe Ceſarea, non poté mai, non ſola- " mente mantenere, ma pure dare principio alla libertá; ne tanta diver- " ſitá di avvenimento in una medeſima città nacque del' altro, ſe non " eſſer' nei tempi dei Tarquini il popolo Romano ancora corrotto, e " in queſti ultimi Tempi eſſere corrottiſſimo." CHAP. VI.

Machiav. Diſcorſ. Lib. 1. Cap. 17.

NOTE [142.] Page 212.

Thraſybulus had ſeventy followers, ſays Xenophon, Hiſt. 2. Sect. 4. Sixty, ſays Pauſanias in Atticis. Thirty, ſays Cornelius Nepos in Vit. ejus. I have taken the larger number, as ſtamping the greater probability on the fact: it was heroic, and true heroiſm needs not amplification. The Munychia was a peninſulated mound covering the harbour of the Piræeus; it merely required the entrenching the neck of land joining it with the continent, to render it a poſt almoſt impregnable. Of this ſituation Thraſybulus availed himſelf.—Λόφος δε ἐστιν Μενῦχια χερρόνησιζων. Strabo. Lib 9.

NOTE [143.] Page 213.

The author of that name recording the ſtory, gives the conduct of Pauſanias an honourable pretext; he ſays it was founded on the ſentiment, that it was neither juſt or expedient for the arms of Sparta, to abett the tyranny of ſuch atrocious deſpots, as then lorded it over the lives and properties of the Athenians. Pauſan. in Lacon. Theſe were the oſtenſible reaſons which the King pleaded before his judges. Xenoph. Hiſt. 2.

NOTE [144.] Page 214.

... διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριακόντα μανίαν, πᾶσιν δημικώτεροι γεγόναμεν, τῶν Φυλὴν καλαλάβοισιν. Isocrat. Orat. πέρι Εἰρήνης.

NOTE [145.] Page 215.

The Spartans, resenting the behaviour of the Eleans towards their champions at the public games, and likewise the slight put on their king Agis, by refusing him the liberty of sacrificing to Jupiter in their Temple, denounced war against that people. An expression of Xenophon, strongly marks the supremacy of, and general respect shewn to, Sparta, at this time. "πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐπύθοντο ὅτι "Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνὴρ ἐπιλάτλοι·" Xenoph. Hist. Lib. 3.

NOTE [146.] Page 216.

Polybius says, *ten* thousand heavy armed troops, but I know not what better authority himself could have had than that of Xenophon.

NOTE [147.] Page 216.

... βίος τοις πλεῖσοις ὑμῶν ἀπο τὴς θάλατλης, ὥσλε των ἰδιων ἐπιμελῶμενοι, ἅμα καὶ των κὰτα θαλὰτλαν ἀγὼνων ἐμπεῖροι γένεσθε· Xenoph. Hist. Lib. 7.

NOTE [148.] Page 217.

The successes of Agesilaus in Asia do not seem so extraordinary, when it is observed, that he enlisted the remainder of the Greeks who made the famous retreat from the battle of Cyrus, "Αγὴσιλαος "δέ τῳ στραλόπεδῳ Κύρε χρῶμενος·" Isocrat. Paneg. but the consequences of

of the expedition of Ageſilaus, were ruinous to thoſe it was undertaken in favour of; for the Ionians and others, who, induced by the immediate ſucceſſes of this enterpriſing king, engaged heartily with him in the cauſe, were ultimately left defenceleſs victims to the rage of "the "great king." Ibid. CHAP. VI.

NOTE [149.] Page 217.

There is much good ſenſe in the obſervation of Iſocrates alluding to the evils the Spartans incurred when attempting to become a naval power, for which their inſtitutions and themſelves were ſo ill calculated. Λακεδαιμονιες δέ αὐτες τότε δοξαντας εὐτύχειν, εις τας νυν ατυχίας δι' Αλκιβιαδήν καθεσάναι. πειθεντες γαρ ὑπ' αὐτε τής καλα θαλασσαν δυνάμεως ἐπιθυμῆσαι, κ τὴν καλα γὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπωλέσαν. ὡσε ει τις φαὶη τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοις γιγνεσθαι των πάροντων κάκων, ὁτε τὴν ἄρχην της θαλάττης ἐλαμβάνον, ἐχ' ἂν ἐξελεγθειη ψευδομένος· "The Lacedæmonians may be made appear, to "owe their reverſe of fortune to Alcibiades; for at his inſtigation, "when at their height of proſperity, attempting to become a naval "power, they loſt their military ſuperiority: ſo that ſhould any one "date their decline from the æra when they coveted the empire of "the ſeas, he would not be wide of the truth"

Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philipp.

NOTE [150.] Page 219.

. . . . κ τὴν μεν ἡμετέραν (πολιτειαν) ευροῖ τις ἄν, ἀπαντων αὐτὴ κ των Ἑλληνων κ των βαρβαρων ἐπιθεμένων, ἐτι δέκα (ἔτη) τετοις ἀντισχειν δυνηθεῖσαν. κ πρὸς τετοις (χρόνοις) τὴν μεν ἡμέτεραν πόλιν ἐλαττόσιν ἐτεσι ἀναβαλεῖσιν αὐτὴν ἢ καταπολεμηθη· Iſocrat. Panath.

NOTE [151.] Page 219.

. . . . ἐκ δε τετε οἱ μέν Ἀθηναῖοι ὡσπέρ ἐν Εἰρηνη ἐπλεον τῇ θαλάττᾳ·

Xenoph. Hiſt. 7.

NOTE

NOTE [152.] Page 220.

'ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ νόμιζει δικαῖον τὰς μεν ἐν τῃ 'Ασιᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτε ἐιναι. καὶ των νησῶν Κλαζομένας καὶ Κύπρον. τὰς δε ἄλλας 'Ελλὴνιδας πόλεις καὶ μὶκρας καὶ μέγαλας αὐτονόμυς ἀφεῖναι. πλὴν Λήμνε καὶ 'Ιμβρε καὶ Σκίρε. Ταῦτας, ὥσπέρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔιναι 'Αθηνᾶιων. 'Οπόσέροι δέ ταυτὴν 'ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ μὴ δεχόνται, τέλοις 'ΕΓΩ πολεμήσω μέτα τε ταὐτα βελομένων καὶ πέζῃ καὶ κάτα θάλαττα, καὶ ναῦσι καὶ χρήμασιν. Xenoph. Hiſt. Lib. 5. Sect. 2.

NOTE [153.] Page 221.

Pella was but a ſmall town before the reign of Philip: ὅτι τὴν Πέλλαν μὶκραν οὖσαν πρότερον Φιλιππος εἰς μῆκος ηὔξησε τράφεις ἐν αὐλῃ. Strabo. Lib. 7. yet we have in Xenophon's hiſtories, καὶ Πελλαν ἥπερ μέγιστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων. Hiſt. 5. Probably Macedonia was at that time for the moſt part inhabited *vicatim*, as was ancient Greece.

NOTE [154.] Page 222.

There is ſomething unaccountable in the diſproportion of the Theban and Spartan armies, and in the reſult of victory, when adverting to the nature of the arms in uſe at that time, and the ſpirit of the parties engaged. I take it however from the authority of a military writer: Epaminondas dux Thebanorum quatuor millibus hominum ex quibus quadringenti tantum equites erant, Lacedæmoniorum exercitum viginti quatuor millium peditum, equitum mille et ſexcentorum vicit. Frontin. Stratag. Lib. 4. Cap. 2. and what was moſt extraordinary, the Thebans are ſaid to have had only forty-ſeven killed, and the Spartans above a thouſand. Pauſan. in Bœot.

NOTE

NOTE [155.] Page 223.

Epaminondas was killed by a dart thrown by Gryllus, the ſon of Xenophon. Pauſan. in Bœot. Gryllus fell afterwards in the battle. Ælian. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. Philopæmen was in aſtertimes ambitious of being put in parallel with Epaminondas, but he failed in the compariſon from the very ſuperior virtues and accompliſhments, in philoſophy as well as arms of the Theban hero. Pauſan. in Arcad. The battle of Mantinea was a drawn battle—" νενικηκέναι δε φασκόντες ἑκάτεροι ἅτε χώρᾳ, ἅτε πόλει, ἐτ' ἀρχῃ ἕδετεροι ἕδεν πλέον ἐχοντες ἐφανήσαν, ἢ πρίν τὴν μάχην γίγνεσθαι." Xenoph. Hiſt. Lib. 7.

NOTE [156.] Page 223.

A ſentence of Livy is particularly happy, and applicable in general, as well as to the inſtance he adduces,—" ex copiâ deinde laſcivire rur-" ſus animi, et priſtina mala poſtquam foris deerant, domi quærere." Liv. Hiſt. Tom. 1. P. 179. Ed. Gronov.

NOTE [157.] Page 224.

Xenophon, who was an intimate friend of Ageſilaus, whoſe panegyric he wrote, and who was generally too a moſt partial admirer of the Spartans, allows that about this time, they were much fallen from the purity of their ancient manners and original inſtitution; and mentions thereon a fact, which may lead us to ſuppoſe even a greater degree of degeneracy, than he is willing explicitly to remark: καὶ πρόσθέν μεν ὅιδα ἀνδρας φοβεμενας χρυσιον ἐχοντας φαινεσθαι, νὺν δ' ἐστιν ὁυς καὶ καλλωπίζομενας ἐπι τὸ κεκτῆσθαι. " I have formerly known thoſe (Spartans) who had " gold, at leaſt fearful or aſhamed to make it known, but *now* the " poſſeſſion is become matter of boaſt and oſtentation."

Xenoph. Pol. Lacon. Cap. 14.

NOTE [158.] Page 228.

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. . . . θάλλε της ζημιας επικειμένης ἣν τις αλῶ δεκάζων, τες τὰτο φανέρωλα ποιᾶνλας ςράτηγας χειροτονᾶμεν. Isocrat. Orat. περι Ειρηνης.

—νὺν δ' ἁπανθ' ὡσπέρ ἐξ ἀγόρας εκπεπρᾶται ταυτά. ἀνλισῆκλαι δε ἀνλί τὰτων ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε κ) νενύσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλας. ταὰτα δ' εςι τὶ; ζῆλος ἐι τις ἐιληφε τὶ. γέλως, ἀν ὁμολογῇ. συγγνὼμη τοις ἐλεγχομένοις. μῖσος ἀν τοῖς τὶς επίλιμᾶ.

Demosthen. Φιλιππ. 3.

NOTE [159.] Page 228.

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ.—Ὦ πρὺτανι, πρὸς της δεξίας ἥνπερ φίλεις
Κοιλὴν προϊεῖναι, ἀργὺρεον ἠ τις διδῶ
Χάρισαι βράχυ τὶ μοι. v. 936.

Thesmoph. Comœd. Aristophanis.

NOTE [160.] Page 232.

I transcribe not the original passages from Demosthenes, having in the following chapters so frequently cited that orator, that to enter in these notes on each occasion the original passage, would swell them to a too great bulk; having in almost every instance specified the section, the learned reader may readily recur to the passage in the edition of Paris.

NOTE [161.] Page 233.

Diogenes Laertius says, that Demetrius the Magnesian asserted, the essays on the republics of Athens and Sparta not to have been written by Xenophon: Laertius, however, accepts them as Xenophon's, and so

ſo generally do the learned. The reſentment of Xenophon towards his countrymen, aroſe from thoſe contingencies of life, which often form and give a colour to the opinions of men. Cyrus had aſſiſted the Spartans towards the cloſe of the Peloponneſian war, and Ageſilaus was a Spartan king: a military ſpirit, the diſguſt of deſpotiſm exerciſed by the thirty tyrants at Athens, and the ſolicitation of a private friend brought Xenophon to the army of Cyrus; and that army afterwards enliſted with Ageſilaus in his Aſiatic expedition: thus Xenophon became by chance a follower, from habits an admirer, and from his own virtues an inmate and friend of a Perſian prince, and Spartan king, both powerful and enterprizing enemies of his country: theſe circumſtances and connections gave umbrage to the Athenian aſſembly, and Xenophon was baniſhed. The plebiſcitum Xenophon ſeems never to have forgiven; and adapted his political ſtile and writings accordingly, when retired to his villa *Scillunté*, given him by his Spartan friend.

NOTE [162.] Page 234.

The decorations of the Athenian theatres were ſuperb, and probably in no inſtance tranſcended by inventions of modern magnificence. The ſcene painted early as the times of Æſchylus has been alluded to in a previous note. Their dances were hiſtorical as thoſe of our modern operas: Teleſtes (in the time of Sophocles) was "*Maitre du "Ballet,*" and compoſed the dance of the ſeven chiefs before Thebes, ſo as to repreſent all their actions. Athenæ, Lib. 1. Theſe ſort of dances were indeed moſt frequent among the Greeks, and their exhibition at the theatre was prepared for, by that at their military ſports and public games: thoſe on mount Theches conſiſted chiefly of ſuch repreſentative or mimic dances. Xenoph. Anabyſ. 6. As to the Athenian actors, they were undoubtedly *the fineſt of declaimers*; and many of them thence puſhed forward into the aſſembly, and became public men, as (beſides others mentioned in the text) Satyrus and the great opponent of Demoſthenes, Æſchines himſelf. Demoſth. Orat. pro coron. In theatres ſo ſpacious and open as thoſe of the Greeks, a loud and audible voice too was a very neceſſary requiſite, as appears from

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the praiſe beſtowed on the *ſonorous lungs* of the actor, who recited the verſes prophetic of the death of Philip, at the feſtival given by that king on his daughter's marriage. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 16. and this accompliſhment was equally ſuited to the aſſembly of the people.

NOTE [163.] Page 235.

Ἡμων γὰρ ἀνδρες.—ἴθ', ἔχι τὴν πόλιν λέγω·
—μεμνησθε 'τοῦθ',—ὁτι ἔχι τὴν πὸλιν λέγω.
Αχαρνῆς Comœd. Ariſtoph.

NOTE [164.] Page 236.

—ὅλως μὲν αἰσχρόλογιαν ἐκ της πὸλεως, ὡσπέρ ἄλλο τί, δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξορίζειν. ἐκ τα γὰρ ἐυχερῶς λέγειν, ὁτιῦν των ἀισχρων, γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ποιειν συνέγγυς, μαλίσα μέν ἐκ των νέων, ὡσπερ μὴτε λεγῶσι μηδ' ακεῶσι μηδεν τοιὁτον. Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 7. Cap. 17.

Whether Ariſtotle alluded or not to the comedies of Ariſtophanes, at this diſtance of time is difficult to determine. Undoubtedly the language of that great comic writer, would ſcarcely in the moſt licentious capitol of this licentious age, be admitted in tranſlation; with exception to the 'Plutus,' and perhaps another Comedy. The dirtineſs and obſcenity of his alluſions are groſs to the laſt degree; at the ſame time that the wittieſt and moſt laughable of his comedies are the moſt dirty and obſcene; witneſs, the *Eccleſiazuſæ* and *Lyſiſtrata*, the very plots and argument of which are highly humourous and comic: of *low* and *dirty* language, the ſcene between Bacchus and Xanthias in the "*Ranæ*," is ſufficient example. The value of the writings of Ariſtophanes at this æra, is not however to be eſtimated merely by his wit and poetry;—they are further to be regarded as depoſitaries of many political alluſions and circumſtances, and of many miſcellaneous cuſtoms which we are acquainted with on no other authority: the ancient ſcholia too, explanatory of certain paſſages of the comedies of Ariſtophanes, have thrown much new light on the manners, cuſtoms, political conduct, and

and inſtitutions of the Athenians. In a word, we owe more of our acquaintance with the city and citizens of Athens to Ariſtophanes, than to any other writer. CHAP. VII.

NOTE [165.] Page 236.

Ariſtotle, in his eighth book of politics, hath particularly inveſtigated the ſubject of education; and the Grecian gentleman of thoſe times may be fairly preſumed to have been moſt carefully attended to in his youth, from the many elegant and literary accompliſhments, which that philoſopher deems requiſite to a finiſhed character: εἰς διαγωγὴν των ἐλευθερων· to a knowledge of the "Belles Lettres, of mathe-"matics, and of ſpeculative ethics, is added a proficiency in the bo-"dily exerciſes, in muſic, and even in painting, ſo far at leaſt as to be "qualified to judge of the works of art;" προς τὸ κρινειν τᾶτων τεχνιτων ἐργα καλλίον· every, the moſt trivial, branch of art and ſcience, Ariſtotle would have his pupil at leaſt acquainted with; and inſtills his doctrine by the apothegm founded in a ſtory—that "Minerva found the "pipe of Pan, took it up, and then threw it away." φασι γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἀθηναν ἐυρᾶσαν ἀποβάλειν τες ἀυλοὺς· implying that *wiſdom* takes up theſe minuter ſubjects of accompliſhment, but holds them not precious or of conſequence to *her*. But not conſidering arts, exerciſes, or even literary knowledge, as forming the ſole objects of liberal education, let us advert to that branch of it, on which are founded the moral principles, and ſocial demeanour of the pupil through life, according to the practice and tenets, which he ſhall in his youth have been habituated to, or imbibed. This part of education was by no means neglected by the ancient preceptors; in modern ſchools it is almoſt wholly omitted: and if the rules of good-breeding and refined manners as delivered in the writings of a late Engliſh nobleman, are dogmas of a favourite ſyſtem, and of a ſyſtem likely ever to be adopted by faſhionable parents, and by faſhionable pedagogues; I rejoice at the preſent omiſſion,—and that my children are to take their career of education, ere the blank is filled up. Irkſome to the ſight of God (according to the melancholy dreamer of the Night Thoughts) as may be the

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naked human heart;—when cloathed with hypocriſy and reſervation ſmothering its ſimple and ſympathetic feelings, it muſt be a loathſome object of ſpeculation, to the leſs abhorrent, as leſs perfect virtue, of every good and wiſe man! Iſocrates hath delineated what *ſhould be* the character of a fine gentleman in his time: the leſſons of the Athenian rhetorician and Engliſh peer, form a contraſt no ways to the advantage of the latter: the character of the Greek ſeems the more perfect, for being diveſted of each tinſel accompliſhment which glares without adorning, or adorns only in the eye of a frivolous courtier;—and for being diveſted of that refined immorality which embelliſhes only in the conſideration of a vicious and unprincipled man priding himſelf in low cunning, in default of ſenſe;—but never can embelliſh in the view of the truly fine gentleman, who connects *ſhrewd wit and captivating manners, with ſolid diſcretion and correct morals.* The paſſage of Iſocrates alluded to, is as follows, "Whom ſhall I term a well educated man, when I deny that the arts, the ſciences, and the exerciſes can alone conſtitute that character? why above theſe, and every thing elſe, the man who becomingly attends to each incident of the day;—whoſe opinion liberally and without prejudice directs his judgment on each buſineſs and event; and who in every relative ſituation acts moſt juſtly as well as expediently;—who in his daily intercourſe with mankind gives his behaviour the grace of decency, and good-breeding, and his conduct the force and ſimplicity of morality and juſtice;—who bears with the rudeneſs and impertinence of others, and reprobates them only by a contraſt of more engaging manners;—who commands his pleaſures, and not his pleaſures him, and is therein abſtinent, or not ſo wholly taken up with them, as to lapſe unwarily beneath the level of manly conduct, and of that moderation in the uſe of them, which is ſuitable to the dignity of human nature:—and (which is moſt of all) who is never depreſſed immoderately by misfortune, and who never inſults ſociety by too exulting gaiety in ſucceſs; but ſeems as little elate with the gifts of fortune as with the endowments of mind he poſſeſſes."

In the above tranſlation the "ſingular," is uſed for the "plural," and ſome ſentences are rather a paraphraſe than literal verſion;—a freedom in tranſlating often neceſſary to render a detached paragraph explicit

explicit and intelligible: but in no inſtance doth the verſion deviate from the ſenſe of the author, as will appear by comparing it with the following extract: CHAP. VII.

Τίνας οὖν ἐγω πεπαίδευμένους, ἐπεῖδη τας τέχνας, καὶ τας ἐπιςήμας, καὶ τας δυναμεῖς ἀποδοκιμάζω; πρῶτον μέν αὐλους καλῶς χρωμένους τοις πράγμασι τοις κατα τὴν ἡμεραν ἑκάςην προσπίπτουσι, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπι τυχῃ των χαίρων ἐχοντας, καὶ δυναμένην ὡς ἐπι τὸ πολύ σοχαζέσθαι τα συμφέροντος. ἐπείτα αὐλους πρεπόντως καὶ δικαίως ὁμιλοῦντας τοις ἀει πλησιάζουσι, καὶ τας μέν των ἀλλων ἀηδίας καὶ βαρύτητας ἐυκολῶς καὶ ραδιῶς φερόντας. σφας δ' αὐτους, ὡς δυναλὸν ἐλαφρότερους καὶ μετριωτάτους τοις συνοῦσι παρεχόντας. ἐτι δε αὐλους των μεν ἡδόνων ἀει κρατοῦντας, των δε συμφόρων μη λίαν ἡττωμένους ἀλλ' ἀνδρώδως ἐν αὐλοις διακειμένους, καὶ της φύσεως ἀξιους ἡς μετεχόντες τυγχάνομεν. τέλειον, ὁπερ μεγιςον, αὐλους μη διαφθειρομένους ὑπο των ευπραγιων, μηδ' ἐξανιςαμένους αὐλων, μηδ' ὑπερηφάνους γιγνομένους, αλλ' ἐμμένοντας τῃ τάξει ευφρονοῦντων, καὶ μη μᾶλλον χαίροντας τοις δια τύχην ὑπαρξάσιν ἀγαθοις, ἡ τοις δία τὴν αὐλων φύσιν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐξαρχῆς γιγνομένοις.

Iſocrat. Orat. Panath.

Iſocrates in his advice to the ſon of prince Evagoras, comprizes the elegant manners of the poliſhed nobleman in two words.—ἀςεῖος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ σεμνος· "diſplay *affability* and *dignity*." [Thoſe who would adhere to the Greek idiom may read *urbanity* for affability.

Iſocrat. Orat. 2da ad Nicoclem.

NOTE [166.] Page 239.

Ὄυκεῖος ταῖρας ἱερον ἐςι παῦλαχῦ
ἀλλ' ἐχι γαμέτης ἔδενον τὴς Ἑλλαδος·

Philetær. ap. Athenæ. Lib. 13.

NOTE [167.] Page 239.

... καὶ ἀλλαι δε ἑταῖραι μέγα εφρονεῖν ἐπ' ἑαυταις παῖδείαις, καὶ μαθήμασιν χρόνον ἀπμεριζέσαι διοπερ καὶ ἐυθύκλοι πρὸς ἀπαντήσεις ἦσαν· Athenæ. L. 13: i. e. s'accomoderent aux entretiens des beaúx eſprits.—By the word "μαθήμασι" is to be underſtood learning in general: the word "μεσικη" too,

CHAP. VII.

too, so often occurring in the Phædon and other Dialogues of Plato, is not restricted to *philosophy*, but is used in the same general sense, as may be deduced from the following passage of Aristophanes, says the Αλλανιοπωλης—

" ωδε Μυσικήν επισάμαι, πλὴν γραμμάτων."

Aristophan. Ἱππεις Comœd.

NOTE [168.] Page 242.

CHAP. VIII.

Isocrates speaks of their alternate empire of the seas, as the alternate source of ruin to both Athens and Sparta: τες γὰρ ἐν πλείσαις ἐξεσιαις γεγενημένες ἴδοι τις ἂν ταις μεγίσαις συμφόραις περιπιπλωκόλας. ἀρξαμένος ἀφ' ἡμων καὶ Λακεδαιμονιων, αὐλαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ πολιλευόμεναι πρότερον σωφρονέσαλα, καὶ δόξην ἐχοῦσαι κάλλισην, επεῖδη ταὔτης ἐτύχον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβον ἔδεν ἄλληλων διηνέγκαν. ἀλλ' ὡσπὲρ προσήκει τοις ὑπο των αὐλων ἐπιθυμιων, καὶ της αὐλης νόσε διεφθαρμενόις κὴ τοις πραξεσι τοις αὐλοις επεχειρησαν, κὴ τοις αὐτοις ἁμαρλημάσι παραπλησιως ἐχρῆσανλο, καὶ το τελευλαῖον ὁμοίαις ταις συμφόραις περιέπέσον· " One may observe states from the very height of " success and power, suddenly plunged in as extreme calamity: to " begin with our own state, and that of Lacedæmon;—these states " were most wisely administered, and had a most glorious estimation, " till severally they grasped at this sovereignty,—the sovereignty of " the seas: from that æra their fortunes and decline were similar;— " the same avidity, the same passions, the same disorders corrupted " each;—each took the same career of action, and committed similar " faults and errors, and finally both experienced a similar catas- " trophe." Isocrat. Orat. περι Ειρηνης·

NOTE [169.] Page 244.

—πρῶτον μέν ὁι συμμάχοι μὴ φρὲραις, ἀλλα τῳ τὰ αὐλα συμφέρειν ημῖν κἀκεῖνοις, ὥσιν οἰκειοι. ἐπειδ' ὁι ξράτηγοι μὴ ξένυς ἐχονλες, τες μεν συμμάχυς ἀγῶσι καὶ φερῶσι, τες δε πολεμιυς μὴδε ὁρῶσιν. ἀφ' ων αἱ μέν ὠφελειαι τὲτων ἔισιν. τὰ δε μισῆ καὶ ἐγκλήμαλα ἐφ' ολην ἐρχέται πόλιν· Demosthen. Orat. περι συνλαξεως·

NOTE

NOTE [170.] Page 245.

To the ſame effect Iſocrates—δευτέρον ἢ ἐθελησωμεν χρῆσθαι τοις συμμάχοις ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τοις φίλοις, καὶ μη λόγῳ μεν αὐτοις αὐτονόμους ἀφίωμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τοις στρατηγοις αὐτων, ὅ τι ἂν βουλῶνται ποιειν, ἐπιδιδῶμεν. μηδε δεσποτικως ἀλλα συμμαχικως αὐτων ἐπισατῶμεν. . . . . τὸ δε μεγιστον συμμάχους ἐξομεν ἀπαντας ἀνθρωπους ἀ βέβιασμένους ἀλλα πεπεισμένους.

Iſocrat. Orat. περι Ειρηνες.

Εις μέν ἐν τοιαῦτας αὐξήσεις των προσοδων ἐδε πῶς δαπανῆται δεῖ ἐδεν, ἀλλα ψηφίσματα φιλαθρώπα καὶ ἐπιμελείας. Xenoph. Πολ. Αθ. Cap. 1.

NOTE [171.] Page 248.

Iſocrates draws a ſtrong picture of the influence of the Perſian in the times alluded to (i. e. his own times) contraſted with the æra of Darius and Xerxes.—Τότε γὰρ μεν ἡμεις φανησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν βασιλέως ὁριζοντες, καὶ των φόρων ἐνιὰς τατταντες, καὶ κωλύοντες αὐτον τῃ θαλάσσῃ χρῆσθαι. νυν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐστι ὁ διοικων τὰ των Ἑλλήνων, καὶ προστάττων ἃ χρὴ πειειν ἑκάστους, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπισάθμας ἐν ταις πόλεσι καθεστας· πλὴν γαρ τέτα, τί των ἀλλων ὑπολοιπον ἐστι; ὃ γὰρ τα πόλεμα κυριος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιτανεῦσε, καὶ των παρόντων πράγμαλων ἐπιστάτης καθεστηκε; οὐκ, ὡς ἐκεῖνον πλεομεν ὥσπερ προς δεσπότην, ἀλλήλων κατηγόρησοντες; ὃ βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, αὐτον προσαγορευομεν, ὥσπερ αἰχμαλωτοι γεγόνοτες; οὐκ εν τοις πολεμοις τοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τας Ἐλπίδας ἐχομεν τῆς σωτηρίας;—ὃς ἀμφοτέρους ἡμας ἥδεως ἂν ἀπολέσειεν· " Formerly we ſtood " forth preſcribing boundaries to the empire of the Perſian; from ſome " of his Satraps exacting tribute, to others prohibiting the navigation " of our ſeas; but now the Perſian is permitted to intermeddle with, " and ſettle the affairs of Greece, giving directions for our relative " conduct, and uſurping every right but that of delegating governors to " each city. What elſe is wanting to our ſubjection? does not the " Perſian lead each war? does not he guarantee each peace? in our " private negociations doth he not mediate, doth he not direct? do we " not go to him as to our maſter to accuſe one another? do we not like

" vaſſals

CHAP. VIII. "vaſſals call him 'Great King?' in our inteſtine wars do we not mu-
"tually rely on him? on him, who would rejoice in our mutual de-
"ſtruction?" Iſocrat. Orat. Paneg.

NOTE [172.] Page 252.

CHAP. IX. I have taken the *ſocial war* as a ſubject diſtinct from the tranſactions of Philip, in order to place it in a clearer and more forcible point of view. In fact, Philip came to the throne three years previous to the "*ſocial war*," and Amphipolis became almoſt immediately a bone of contention between him and the Athenians; and in conſequence thereof they ſet up Argæus as competitor for the throne of Macedon in oppoſition to Philip; who having defeated his confederate enemies, and Argæus being killed, made peace with Athens, and *for a while* left Amphipolis an *independant city*; that is, free in its own pretenſions, but open to the claims of Athens; and at ſuch criſis may be placed the "*ſocial war*."

NOTE [173.] Page 256.

It was a law at Athens, "that if any one, whoſe name was drawn for "*Trierarch* (on whom the expence of equipping the veſſel fell) would "plead poverty, and point out any other citizen whoſe wealth and cir-"cumſtances were more competent to the undertaking, he was then "exonerated from the office:" thus one Lyſimachus pointed out the famous rhetorician Iſocrates as rich and able, himſelf not being ſo; which gave riſe to the oration in defence yet extant. περι ἀντιδοσεως, ſive de permutatione, notwithſtanding which, Iſocrates was caſt:—Obſerve a paſſage in another declamation of the ſame orator—Ἡμεις δ' ἐδ' ὑπέρ τής ἡμέτερας αὐλων πλεονεξιας κινδυνεῦειν ἀξιῶμεν ἀλλ' ἀρχειν μέν ἀπάντες ζητῶμεν, στρατεύεσθαι δ' ἐκ ἐθελόμεν. Such in the oration περι Ειρηνης was Iſocrates's

 ſenſe

CHAP. IX.

ſenſe of the infamy of ſkulking from the duties and ſervices which the neceſſities of ſtate impoſed:—and how applicable to himſelf the cenſure!—ſo much eaſier is it to talk well, than to act well!

NOTE [174.] Page 258.

Iſocrates too gives us a ſtriking picture of the fluctuating politics, and unſettled ſtate of the Athenian aſſembly at this period. Ἐμπειρόταλοι δέ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων ὄνλες, ἔτως ἀλογισῶς ἐχόμεν, ὥσπερ πέρι των ἀὐλων τὴς αὐλὴς ἡμερας ἃ ταῦτα γιγνωσκόμεν, ἀλλ' ων μεν πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβῆναι, κατηγορῶμεν, ταὐτα συνελθόνλες χειροτονῶμεν, ἃ πολὺν δε χρόνον διαλειπόνλες ταὐτ' ἐνλαυθα ψηφισθεῖσιν, ἐπειδ' ἀν ἀπίωμεν, ἐπιλιμῶμεν. "Experienced in public "buſineſs and debate as we are, we act ſo irrationally as not to be "conſiſtent within the ſame day: the meaſures we reprobate before "we come into the aſſembly, we vote for when there; and ſcarcely "have we left it, ere we diſlike and cavil at the very ſyſtem of admi-"niſtration, which we have ſanctioned by our decree."

Iſocrat. Orat. περι Ἐιρηνης.

NOTE [175.] Page 268.

CHAP. X.

Philip was ſo pleaſed on hearing of the eſtabliſhment of this club, or joyous ſociety, that he ſent them a ſum of money, and required in return their "*Decamerone*," or collection of jeſts and tales, produced in the hours of conviviality; the collection might not have been very valuable; but ſuch inſtitution was worth the money to Philip, and its encouragement and continuance cheaply purchaſed at the price of a talent, which was the ſum preſented. Athenæus, Lib. 14.

Generally ſpeaking of the Athenians at this æra, the following ſentence of Monteſquieu is applicable and juſt: On peut voir dans Demoſthéne quelle peine il fallut pour reveiller le peuple d'Athénes;

CHAP. X. *on y-craignoit Philippe non pas comme l'ennemi de la liberté, mais des plaiſirs.* L'Eſprit des Loix. Liv. 3. Chap. 3.

NOTE [176.] Page 269.

—nam quæ volumus, et credimus libentèr; et quæ ſentimus ipſi, reliquos ſentire ſperamus. Cæſar. B. C. Lib. 2.

NOTE [177.] Page 271.

Many cities of Greece wiſhed to remain mere ſpectators of the conteſt; but Philip, after his victory at Cheronea, ſhewed the inactive or neutrals no preference, nor even favoured thoſe joining him with greater indulgence than the moſt violent of his foes. His Grecian allies and enemies were reduced to equal ſubjection. Says Pauſanias, "τό γὰρ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπάσι τοις Ἕλλησι ἦρξε κακῶ, καὶ ἐχ' ἥκιςά "δέλους ἐποίησε τῆς ὑπερὶδονίας, καὶ ὅσοι μέτα Μακεδόνων ἐταχθῆσαν" Pauſan. in Att. Polybius. in Hiſt. Lib. 5. ſpeaks much of the moderation and humanity of Philip after the battle of Chæronea. So too Ælian. Lib. 8. Cap. 15. and every other ancient author; but ſuch behaviour was ſoothing only to the indolent and vicious; for good citizens could receive no compenſation for the loſs of liberty and ancient glory of their country: to ſuch it was ſufficient matter of grief that Philip was become their deſpot.—"Κάτεςη τὴς Ελλάδος κὺριος." Strab. Lib. 9.

NOTE [178.] Page 272.

CHAP. XI. Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum eſt; verum ubi pro labore deſidia, pro continentiâ et equitate, libido atque ſuperbia invaſêre, fortuna ſimul cum moribus immutatur. Salluſt. Bell.

Bell. Catalin.—So too the modern ſtateſman,—" mais ſi nous voulons " nous attacher a des cauſes plus naturelles et plus ſenſibles de la deca- " dence de l'Empire Romain, ſi vaſte et ſi formidable, nous les aurons " bientot trouvés dans le changement des loix et des mœurs, auxquels " il devoit ſon aggrandiſement, dans le luxe, l'avarice, et l'ambition."

Memoires de Sully, Liv. 30ème.

NOTE [179.] Page 273.

. . . σχέδον γὰρ οἱ πλεῖσοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημάγωγων γεγονασιν. αἴτιον δέ τες τότε μεν γίγνεσθαι, νῦν δε μὴ, ὁτι τότε μεν οἱ δημαγωγοι ἦσαν ἐκ των στρατηγουμένων, ἐ γαὰρ πω δεινοι ἦσαν λέγειν. νῦν δε τὴς ῥητορικὴς ἠυξημένης, οἱ δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγωγεῖσι μέν, δ' ἀπειρίαν δε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκ ἐπιτιθεῦται·

Ariſtot. Pol. Lib. 5. Cap. 5.

NOTE [180.] Page 275.

. . . . ἐπιδεῖξαι τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῳ αὐτε λόγῳ, ἐι πε γεγραπται τινα τῶν ἀνδρων (Miltiadis, Themiſtoclis, &c^um^) στεφανῶσαι. ἀχάριτος ἄρα ὁ δήμος; ἐκ. ἀλλά μεγαλόφρων·

Æſchin. Orat. contrà Cteſiph.

NOTE [181.] Page 281.

. . . ἐι ἐδ' ὁ χρυσος τὸ τειχος ὑπερβῆναι δύναται ἐστι; . . . et infrà . . . . . καὶ τες δεχομένες τὸ χρυσιον ξένες καὶ φίλες ὀνομάζων, ταῖς πονηραῖς ὁμιλιαῖς διεφθειρε τα ἤθη των ἀνθρωπων· Diodor. Sic. Lib. 16. Sect. 54.

NOTE [182.] Page 282.

It appears from the oration of Demoſthenes περι Παραπρεσβειας that Æſchines firſt attracted public notice by oppoſing Philip and the demagogues,

magogues, or miniſters of the day.—Oppoſition is undoubtedly the beſt introducer of political abilities, and particularly of unprincipled men in a depraved commonwealth: they have greater ſcope for their arts and for their eloquence in invective, refutation, and the perplexing public meaſures, than the ſupport of any public meaſures can afford. The ſupport too requires knowledge; the attack requires merely ingenuity: it would demand a more than common proficiency in ſcience, to defend a mathematical truth laid down by Newton; but to raiſe objections to the axiom, which only a man of ſcience could remove, might be a ſucceſsful effort of many a lively imagination. Oppoſition and accuſation in their courſe often recoil on their firſt abettors: the ſtory of the demagogues at Argos, is a ſtriking epitome of their ordinary fate.—" The demagogues at Argos, having " accuſed ſome of the Eupatridai, they grew rich on the confiſcations, " and encouraged by the populace, went on accuſing one noble and " another, until the number of unjuſt executions and the enormity of " their procedure occaſioned ſome remorſe, and they ſtopped ſhort:— " when immediately new demagogues ſtarted up, and accuſing the old " demagogues, they in their turn were ſucceſſively fined, impriſoned " and put to death;"—a ſacrifice to the popular ſpirit they had excited, but could not command, and much leſs ſuppreſs.

Diodor. Sic. Lib. 15. Sect. 58.

NOTE [183.] Page 282.

The reader muſt not from the circumſtance mentioned in the text, ſuppoſe that the aſſembly of Athens was not conducted under certain regulations;—the rules too were probably to the full as well enforced, as thoſe of any political body of modern times; the *Prytanes, or Speaker*, having a power of impoſing a fine of fifty drachms, on the diſorderly and contumacious. The oration of Æſchines againſt Timarchus ſupplies us with many of theſe rules:—in the firſt place " a " man of immoral character was not permitted to ſpeak on any ac- " count;"—then the orders were,—that " no one ſhould ſpeak but " to the queſtion;"—that " no one ſhould ſpeak twice to the ſame " queſtion;"

" queſtion;"—that " when one ſpeaker was up, no one ſhould interrupt him;"—that " no one ſhould uſe diſreſpectful language; or " affront the dignity of the Prytanes;"—or " whilſt the queſtion was " pending ſhould introduce any ſubject foreign to it:"—I pretend not to aſſert, that theſe regulations were duly ſuſtained; though, if not, —*it muſt have been imputable to the Prytanes*, who was veſted with ſufficient powers to enforce obedience to them.

Vid. etiam Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſiph.

NOTE [184.] Page 284.

. . . . πλειόνων καθάπερ τι πέλαγος εἰς ἀναπεπταμένον κέχυται πολλαχῇ μέγεθος. ὅθεν εἶμαι, καὶ λόγον ὁ μὲν ῥήτωρ ἅτε παθητικώτερος, πολὺ τὸ διάπυρον ἔχει, καὶ θυμικῶς ἐκφλεγόμενον. ὁ δὲ καθεστὼς ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σεμνότητι, οὐκ ἔψυκται μέν, ἀλλ' ἐχ' ἕτως ἐπέσταται. ἐ καὶ' ἄλλα δέ τινα ἢ ταῦτα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ, λέγω, δ' εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς Ἕλλησιν, ἐφεῖται τι γιγνώσκειν, καὶ ὃ Κικέρων τε Δημοσθένει ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραλλάττει. ὁ μέν γαρ ἐν ὕψει τὸ πλέον ἀπολόμῳ, ὁ δε Κικέρων ἐν χύσει. καὶ ὁ μεν ἡμέτερος δία τὸ μέλα βίας ἕκαστα, ἔτι δε τάχους, ῥώμης, δεινότητος, οἷον καῖων τε ἅμα καὶ διαρπάζων σκηπτῷ τινι περιεικάζοιτ' ἄν, ἢ κεραυνῷ. ὁ δε Κικέρων ὡς ἀμφιλαφής τις ἐμπρησμός, ὅταν, πανὴ νέμεται καὶ ανειλεῖται, πολὺ ἔχων καὶ επίμονον ἀεί το κᾶιον διακληρονομούμενον ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ἐν αὐλῳ, καὶ καλα διαδοχάς ἀναθαλπόμενον. ἀλλά ταῦτα μεν ὑμεῖς ἄν ἄμεινον ἐπικρίνοιτε. Καιρός δε τῷ Δημοσθενικῷ μεν ὕψος καὶ υπερτέταμενε εν δε ταῖς δεινώσεσι, καὶ τοῖς σφοδροῖς πάθεσι, καὶ ἔνθα δει τον' ακροατὴν τὸ σύνολον ἐκπλῆξαι, της δέ χύσεως, ὅπε χρὴ καταυλῆσαι.

Longinus περὶ ὕψος, Cap. 12.

Oratores vero vel præcipue Latinam eloquentiam parem facere Græcæ poſſunt; nam Ciceronem cuicumque eorum fortiter oppoſuerim: nec ignoro quantam mihi concitem pugnam, cum præſertim id non ſit propoſiti, ut cum Demoſtheni comparem hoc tempore; neque enim attinet, cum Demoſthenem in primis legendum, vel potius ediſcendum putem: quorum ego virtutes pleraſque arbitror ſimiles, conſilium, ordinem dividendi, præparandi, probandi rationem, omnia denique quæ ſunt inventionis. In eloquendo eſt aliqua diverſitas: denſior ille, hic copioſior; ille concludit adſtrictiús, hic latiús; pugnat ille acumine

CHAP. XI.

ſemper, hic frequentèr, et pondere; illi nihil detrahi poteſt, huic nihil adjici; curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ; ſalibus certé et commiſeratione (qui duo plurimúm affectus valent) vincimus: et fortaſſe epilogos illi mos civitatis abſtulerit; ſed et nobis illa quibus Attici mirantur, diverſa Latini ſermonis ratio minus permiſerit; in epiſtolis quidem quanquam ſunt utriuſque, nulla contentio eſt; cedendum veró in hoc quidem, quòd ille et prior fuit, et ex magnâ parte Ciceronem, quantus eſt, facit: nam mihi videtur M. T. Cicero, cum ſe totum ad imitationem Græcorum contuliſſet, effinxiſſe vim Demoſthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Iſocratis.

M. F. Quinctil. Inſtit. Orat. Lib. 10. Cap. 1.

NOTE [185] Page 286.

. . . . . τοιαύτην δὴ καλαλαβων τὴν πολιτικὴν λέξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἅτω κεκινημένην ποικίλως καὶ τηλικαύτοις ἐπεισελθὼν ἀνδράσιν, ἑνὸς ἄθενός ἠξίωσε γενέσθαι ζηλωτὴς, ἅτε χαρακτῆρος ἅτε ἀνδρός. ἡμιεργὰς τινὰς ἄπαυλας οἰόμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀτελεῖς. ἐξ ἀπάυλων δ' αὐλων ὅσα κράτιστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα ἦν, ἐκλεγόμενος συνύφαινε καὶ μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν διάλεκτον ἀπέτελει,—μεγαλοπρεπῆ, λιτὴν· περιττὴν, ἀπέριττον. ἐξηλλαγμένην, συνηθη. ωανυγηρικὴν, ἀληθινήν. αὐστηρὰν, ἱλαράν. σύντονον, ἀνειμενην. ἡδεῖαν, πικράν. ἠθικὴν, παθητικήν. ἀδὲν διαλλάττουσαν τῶ μεμυθευμένω ωαρά τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ωοιηταῖς Πρωτέως, ὃς ἅπασαν ἰδέαν μορφῆς ἀμογητί μεταλαμβανεν. εἴτε θεὸς ἢ δαιμων τὶς ἐκεῖνος ἀρα ἦν ωαρακρουόμενος ὄψεις τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας εἴτε διαλέκτε ποίκιλον δὴ χρῆμα ἐν ἀνδρί σοφῷ πάσης ἀπαηλὸν ἀκοῆς. ὅ μᾶλλον ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν· . . . . . Ἐγω μέν τοιαύτην τινά δόξαν ὑπέρ της Δημοσθένους λέξεως ἔχω, καὶ τον χαρακτῆρα τοῦτον ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῳ, τὸν ἐκ ἁπάσης μικτὸν ἰδέας. Dionyſ. Halicarn. περι δεινότητος Δημοσθεν. λεξεως.

NOTE [186.] Page 289.

CHAP. XII.

Lycurgus meant that the Spartans ſhould have no reſource but in their own fortitude and virtue; and forbad the building any bulwark or walls to their city, as ſerving to weaken a ſpirit of vigilance and ſelf-confidence;

ſelf-confidence: thus the naked circumference of their town originated in inſtitution: but when the virtue and valour of the Spartans relaxed, walls ſupplied their place.—Theſe walls were firſt built when Caſſander made a hoſtile incurſion into the Peloponneſe.

Juſtin. Lib. 14. Cap. 5.

NOTE [187.] Page 291.

The good old rhetorician Iſocrates, anxious to relieve his country from the encroaching power of Philip, wrote and ſent him an oration, in which he exhorted the Macedonian to leave Greece at liberty, and turn his force towards Perſia; and this diſcourſe falling afterwards into the hands of Alexander is ſuppoſed to have ſuggeſted, or at leaſt to have accelerated, his Aſiatic expedition.

Vid. Argument. ad Iſocrat Orat. ad Philipp.

NOTE [188.] Page 293.

Yet were the Athenians aware of their danger in refuſing divine honours to Alexander, as may be gathered from an apothegm of Demades on the occaſion, "videte ne dum cælum cuſtodatis, "terram amittatis." Valer. Max. de Opt. Dict. et Fact.

NOTE [189.] Page 296.

When Demetrius returned from his expedition to Corcyra, the Athenians not only received him with divine honours, but in their hymns and choruſſes declared him "*the only true god*, for that all "other gods were aſleep, or gone abroad, or no more,"—ὡς εἷς μόνος θεος ἀληθίνος, οἱ δε ἄλλοι καθεύδουσιν ἢ ἀποδήμουσιν ἢ οὐκ εἰσιν· Democharès ap. Athenæ. Lib. 6. In the hundred and tenth olympiad Demetrius Phalereus numbered the people of Athens:—the citizens were then "twenty one thouſand, aliens ten thouſand, ſlaves four hundred "thouſand."

CHAP. XII.

" thouſand." Athenæ Lib. 6. And proving the juſtneſs of an expreſſion in a former chapter, that " diſparity of force is diſtinct " from that of numbers,"—" the cenſus of Pericles at the ſplendid " opening of the Peloponneſian war, enumerated but fourteen thouſand " and forty citizens." Plut. Vit. Pericl.—but the ſmaller number had the ſentiments of freemen; the larger number the ſenſations of ſlaves!

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	For	Read
51	13	Pauſanius	Pauſanias.
119	29	attack	attach.
121	7	Oenophyra	Oenophyta.
274	7	elected	electors.

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